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A
VINDICATION

OF

GEN. RICHARD SMITH,

Chairman of the Select Committee

OF THE

House of Commons,

to his Competency to preside over and direct,
an Investigation into the best Mode of provi-
ding the Investment for the East India Com-
pany's Homeward-bound Bengal Ships.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

some Instances to prove, that the GENERAL is
not that proud, insolent, and irascible Man,
his Enemies would induce the Public to believe
him to be.

AS ALSO,

few serious Hints to the *Select Committee*, tending to
show, that they are wasting their Time in the Minutiae
of Asiatic Commerce, whilst the great Outlines and
consequential Branches, are in danger of being over-
looked.

L O N D O N :

ed for the Author ; and to be had of John Stockdale, No. 181,
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M,DCC,LXXXIII.

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VINDICATION

BY RICHARD SMITH

Chairman of the Select Committee

OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS



in his Competence to inquire into and direct
an investigation into the late mode of provi-
ding the investment for the East India Com-
pany's Homeward-bound Royal Ships.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

the instances to prove, that the Company is
not that prudent, industrious, and capable Man,
his Enemies would induce the Public to believe
him to be.

AS ALSO

the former History of the East India Company, relating to
the manner of their conducting their Affairs in the late
East India Company, with the great Debates and
important Resolutions, and in danger of being over-

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. G. Smith, and to be had of John Gresham, Esq. Sec. Gen.
of the East India Company, and of Messrs. Gresham, Smith, and Co. Stationers
in Pall Mall.

VINDICATION,

OF

GENERAL RICHARD SMITH, &c.

POPE says, that the most infallible mark of the appearance of a genius, is the yelping of the dunces. Merit, in whatever shape or form it is presented to the world, never fails to draw envy on the head of its possessors. Rodney fought for the honour of his country, with the perseverance of an old Roman: Envy grew sick, nor would any thing bring her to herself, but his removal; for had he been continued in command, *Vaudreuil* might have been sent home after De Grasse. He had been guilty of such kind of conduct more than once before; envy and faction trembled for the consequences, and would no longer trust him.

Mr. Hastings, the Governor General of Bengal, has rendered his country such services, as will immortalize his name. He has, by his spirit and conduct, driven poor envy almost mad; for hitherto she has not been able to come at him. Her greatest effort was made on the floor of the Chapel, by Edmund her High Priest, in a dark hour, when a few friends to her cause were gathered together. Of five hundred and fifty-eight members of the club (not legion) where his merit was opposed to the malice of envy, forty-two only were present, mostly retained in the cause of the goddess, and he was in consequence—*voted out*;—not black balled, as happened once by the influence of the same deity, to my honourable and worthy friend the General, at the club at Brooke's.

Another of our witty poets observes, that

"When instances are aptly chosen,

"Two are as valid as two dozen."

I like the sentiment, and shall, to save time, confine myself all through the first part of this work, to two facts only, in support of each of my assertions.

General Richard Smith has been bred a soldier, say his detractors, and therefore he is by no means a proper Chairman for a Committee, who are inquiring



quiring into the fineness of a piece of Maulda mullin, or the length, breadth, and Bengal price, of a piece of Luckeypore balfies.—This is mere cavilling, a perfect begging of the question.—Trade is trade, no matter what the profession. A man who has studied one branch of commerce, may, with a little application, become acquainted with all. Genius stoops not to lines and rules, but boldly bounds over all. If a new plan was wanted for the government of the world, who would not apply to Mr. Edmund Burke to form it?—Yet that great genius hath racked his invention and mechanical abilities, to contrive a state *saveall*, in which to catch the dripping in the royal kitchen!

The Gauls did not take the old and venerable conscript fathers, whom they found sitting in their robes in the senate house at Rome, for a parcel of cooks:—And yet, in a few centuries afterwards, an Epicurean Emperor sent to ask their opinion, as to the best sauce for a turbot. It is ridiculous to suppose, that a man who has been deemed worthy of a seat in the British Senate, where the laws are made to govern this mercantile empire, can be deficient in any knowledge necessary to his station. Mr. Wilkes, without having been bred to the law, saw the illegality of general warrants, and boldly withstood them—And I am convinced that the same gentleman would, on a proper application being made

made to him, compose the best recipe in the kingdom, for making of craw-fish soup.—Why, then may not the honourable General be equally capable to lead an army on to fame, or draw out a mercantile invoice? His splendid victories, whilst in command of the East India Company's army at Bengal, will strike the readers with astonishment, when Mr. Orme shall publish his continuation of military transactions in that kingdom. At present they are known to few, *very few indeed*; and therefore people should not decide so peremptorily on matters, which, for the first of all reasons, have yet been kept secret. As to his pretensions to a knowledge in mercantile concerns, I shall prove that he was regularly initiated in them: for the rest, every person knows that it depends on a man's own natural genius and application, from whence all our knowledge of every kind must arise. Citizen and soldier were, from the earliest times, deemed synonymous terms. It was so at Athens; it was so at Carthage; it was so at Rome. It is so in Switzerland; it is so in Holland; it is so in London. That Citizen in English, means legislator, foldier, and merchant, I will not go out of the kingdom in quest of instances to prove the fact. See the same Alderman sweating in a full bottom wig at Guildhall, regulating the price of bread, and weighing in the scales of justice pats of butter. Then attend him to the Royal Exchange, and to the Stock Exchange, and contemplate the wight, whilst

whilst bustling through the crowd at the first, and transferring millions of property at the last. In the cool of the evening, you have him again in the Artillery Ground, sinking under the encumbrances of a full blown Major: And lastly, follow him to the Mansion House, where, bending half double under the fatigues of the day, he stands drawing off his glove, like our General of the Committee, with a lady at his side, boldly daring to open a ball, by exhibiting a minuet, which he never studied until turned of thirty. There is no end of quoting instances to prove, that a man of genius, who stands well with himself, may, by proper application, become what he pleases. Had General Smith not been possessed of uncommon aptitude, and great resolution, Mr. Burke could never have made an orator of him, nor Mr. Hart a minuet dancer.— But such materials in the hands of such artists, will form into any thing.

The birth and parentage of my hero is out of the question. I am not now writing his life, but defending his abilities. If the Directors of the East India Company, the Members of their Board of Trade at Bengal, (some of whom have been in their service thirty years, and all of them above twenty,) are not competent to the ordering and providing the proper investment at Bengal for the Europe market, why truly I think Messrs. Smith and Burke as good hands as the nation can employ, to obtain a proper
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ment of Asiatic goods. If a man's abilities are to be known by a large stock of well chosen words, the last possesses as fine a collection as any man in being: and had the honourable General himself, not been possessed of great presence of mind, or in the least deficient in front, he would never have filled the chair of an Asiatic investigator, where speculation, mal-administration, unlicensed monopoly, and impropriety of investments, may chance to be fully discussed. If in one single circumstance or qualification, his defamers and enviers, could prove him unfit for the important chair that he now so honourably fills, some argument might ensue; but as matters are, I have only to confine myself to mere matters of fact, to prove all that will be necessary in this part of my vindication of his uncommon abilities.

The first essay of General Smith in the mercantile line, was in drawing up bills of parcels behind the counter, and cutting into scraps, and weighing out into decimal fractions, the fragments of a mangled cheese, to accommodate accidental customers, in his father's shop: but this plebian employment was too confined for his adventurous mercantile genius, and he boldly launched forth in a higher sphere, and at once became the purser's mate of an East India ship.

What

What a noble field for the improvement of natural genius, the above mentioned important employment of purser's mate in an East Indiaman was in 1753, many men now alive remember, and no men better than the present honourable Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors. The Captains of the Company's ships in those glorious and ever-to-be-lamented days, were the most universal merchants in the world. In artillery they dealt from a two-and forty pounder, to a child's popgun. In hardware, from an enormous spring to catch tigers, to a wire mouse trap. In cutlery, from a semicircular scymetar that would have become the hand of Nadir Shaw, or Hyder Ally, to a concave pen-knife to cut corns. In the woollen manufactures of this country they traded (I do not say clandestinely) from immense bales of British broad cloth, to cuttings, purloined by taylors from the scarlet vestments of their customers of both sexes, and again stolen out of *bell* itself by their apprentice boys, and disposed of to those universal merchants. In nick-knack-a-ree their commerce was equally unbounded, as it extended from the gold baubles and other innumerable trinkets that hang pendant from a lady's watch, to a paper of minikin pins. In short, there was nothing fabricated in this country, that would servethe purposes of our friends in the East Indies, that the captains of Europe ships did not in those days deal in and export, from a sceptre to grace the hand of a Mogul Emperor,

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(For we had not then divested them of such royal ornaments) to a silver bodkin to decorate the hair of his Roxana or Statira. And it was the duty of Mr. *Smith*, and his superior the *purser*, to see the innumerable bills of parcels and invoices of this endless variety of great and small merchandize, entered fairly into one book, and *foully* into another: for many merchants supply blank bills, to which prices, sum totals, and names, are, in the course of the voyage, prefixed: nor is it uncommon for articles which cost sixpence in England, to stand rated in the bill or invoice book produced in India, at eighteen pence or two shillings.—Why not?—Madeira wine, and other articles, are supposed to ripen, and increase in their value, by being a long time confined in the warm hold of a ship; and why should not hams, cheese, butter, ladies commodities, &c. &c. prove equally mellow from the same cause? At all events, no man will deny but that a person in the station of purser's mate, so fully and extensively employed, has had a complete initiation into the practical knowledge of our export articles of Asiatic merchandize. To the opportunities the General has had to qualify himself to preside in a Committee, where the investment of a Bengai ship's homeward-bound cargo may come under debate, I shall speak presently. Here it may be necessary to observe, that at Madras, the General's spirit was roused to arms, by the sound of the ear piercing sife, and soul stirring drum.

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It had such an effect on his feelings, that his former occupation was no more. From that moment, we must view him decorated (I fear that word is new) with sword, laced coat, fash, gorget, shoulder-knot, and all the ornaments of glorious war. In this line of life I shall not touch him, but leave his fame in the hands of his friend Mr. Orme. Whatever that historian, and collector of fragments, may say of the General's conduct as a military man, may be admitted for fact, as it is well known, that he had no predilection for that race of heroes, who, from mechanics, had become gentlemen.

When Mr. Orme held the office of export warehouse-keeper to the East India Company at Madrafs, he was remarkable for keeping the young men in the service, at a sufficient distance. It happened that one Mr. Davison acted under him in his office, in whose blunt John Bull manners, there appeared something odd and diverting. The former had condescended to invite the latter to breakfast with him, in the course of which, he asked Davison of what profession his father was? "A Sadler, Sir," replied the other. "A Sadler!" repeated the historian, with some degree of surprise; "Why did he not breed you up a Sadler?" "Why, Sir," says Davison, "I was always a whimsical boy, and rather chose
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“to try my fortune, as you have done, in the East India Company’s service. But pray, Sir,” continued he, “what profession was your father of?” “My father, Sir,” answered Mr. Orme sharply, “was a Gentleman.” “A Gentleman!—humph—” “Pray, Sir, be so good as to inform me, why he did not breed you up a Gentleman?” The retort is new and good, and I think worth preserving.

That leviathan in literature, lexicon Johnson, in his life of Prior, observes from Horace, that *the vessel long retains the scent which it first receives*. In the midst of high and important military occupations, General Smith shewed his skill in his first profession of a merchant, and was deeply concerned in the monopoly of salt, of foreign cotton, and of China goods, at Bengal, when colonel of a brigade, and second in command. These facts are on record; former Committees have immortalized them: I fetcht not my instances from newspapers and party pamphlets. Marlborough traded in ammunition, bread, and commissions; and Prince Eugene bought the whole contents of a Pedler’s pack, deliverable at his quarters in the dusk of the evening by the man’s *wife*. Hannibal bought, if he did not sell, vinegar. And it must strike every man of letters, how easily I could multiply my instances, if I had not confined myself to two or three in each case: though I cannot help observing, that it is far from being improbable,
but

but that the great *Washington* himself may have a concern in the five hundred tons of fish oil, lately imported into the river Thames, under cover of those outlandish phenomena, the *thirteen stripes*.

But my hero went further than all this. Some merchandize in which he had condescended to hold a concern, found its way into the Vizier Sujah ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude's country, where an interloper, *one Bolis*, was detected peddling in the same articles. This was high treason against the grand monopolizers, and the culprit was tumbled neck-over-heels from Benares, on the banks of the Caramnassa, a branch of the river Ganges, to London, on the banks of the river Thames; where, it is true, some old fashioned, worn-out prop of the law, who, like Lord Mansfield, thought that the liberty and property of a subject of these kingdoms, should be inviolate and sacred from pole to pole, set the matter to rights.

I have proved that Gen. Smith imbibed young, and in detail, this propensity to commerce, that it grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength, until one day at Brooke's a cruel spoiler came, cropped this fair rose—Hold, this is mere quotation. The General came home a second time, crowned with laurels, and loaded with wealth; not acquired as that *lying* and *malicious* historian Dow (or rather his embellisher Mac Pherson) relates,

relates, by sending Nabobs to sleep with their fathers, for no Nabob took a nap, as I remember, whilst the General was at Bengal; and as for wars, massacres, murders, plunderings, mutilations, and famines, I do not recollect that any of the former took place whilst the General was amongst us; and for the two latter, that is the famine and mutilation, I can take my oath that the first came to pass after he left Bengal, and the last was executed by one of his own family, and he generously forgave the culprit. It is therefore clear beyond controversy, that the General acquired his opulent fortune from the perquisites of office, emoluments of situation, and advantages in trade. How then can his enemies have the effrontery to say, that he is not qualified for the station which he so ably fills? The mean insinuation, that he was placed in the Committee's chair, on the principle of *set one to catch another*, is beneath refutation. As he carried his inclination to trade with him to India, at his first going abroad, so from long habit it stuck to him, and attended him home again: for soon after his last return (from the malice of his enemies no doubt) some informations were lodged against him, as having been concerned in the commerce of borough jobbing: being a reputed Nabob, and falling into the hands of an old fashioned English judge, who will have it, that corrupting the morals of the people at large, is the ready way to unhinge our excellent constitution, sent him to the same

same college, where Johnny Wilkes had been sent before him for writing bawdry; and the great patriots, and supporters of the liberty of the press, Bate, Jackman, Bew, and Miller, have been sent since by the same hand, for what is denominated libelling. Precious times these, when a man must be a perfect Grandison, and not indulge himself in any of the fashionable amusements of the times, such as bribery, seduction, swindling, blasphemy, libelling, and such trifles, without being in danger of a commitment to the King's Bench by Lord Mansfield. The abstruse and obsolete laws, which he takes so much pains to defend, are many of them older than himself, and his Lordship is no chicken. I believe from his anxiety to preserve them inviolate, he is afraid he shall have to say, what a predecessor of his said to Charles the II. "That his Majesty's return had prevented his outliving the laws." When his Lordship does go the way of all men, I hope his passage will be short, easy, and pleasant; and whether he baits on his way at the Elysian fields, or in Paradise, I wish he may meet there the companions and cotemporaries of his younger days, the Popes, the Swifts, the Arbuthnots, and Gays; the Pitts, the Pelhams, the Hardwicks, the Bathursts, the Barnards, and the Wyndhams. Such a group of patriots, poets, lawyers, and statesmen, assembled together (all of whom I believe to have been good men and true) will create a heaven

any

any where. I too am verging that way, and now bespeak his Lordship's interest to succeed to the first vacancy of porter, turnkey, or door-keeper, to such a select collection of real lovers of their country.

Hitherto I have confined my vindication of the General, to facts falling within my own knowledge, but cannot follow him into his commercial concerns, as they relate to his new trade of a patriot. I may, perhaps, *turn out* one myself, by and by, having the benefit of studying in the college, where he himself took his degrees. But as the fortune he brought home from the east, was ample, and, no doubt, *most honourably acquired*, I hope that it will wear well, and last him his life. For if I may judge from the present appearance and condition of some high bred patriots, who are lodged in cells round about me, it is but a poor trade.

I Should I fail in this my attempt to prove, that the General, early in his youth, imbibed the true principles of mercantile polity, I shall be greatly disappointed. Certain it is, the mind of man is not always open to conviction, from reason and from truth. To this stubborn scepticism of disposition in mankind, we owe all the evils yet remaining in civil society. If Englishmen would not be so testy, opiniated, and unbelieving, in matters
which

which so nearly concern them, but patiently submit themselves to be ruled and governed in all their political and commercial affairs, by such superior geniuses as General Richard Smith, and his highly deserving and *disinterested* friend, Mr. Edmund Burke, we should soon become a great nation of very happy people. Their labours have been incessant, their productions and reports numerous and curious, and their intentions so palpably calculated for the public good, that it is wonderful that people will be so wilfully blind, as not to see them: but so it is; nor can I account for it, and therefore shall proceed with the same degree of temper and impartiality, to the vindication of the General, by quoting instances to prove my second postulatam, viz. that General Richard Smith is not that haughty, irascible man, that the world in general have supposed him to be; quite the reverse; no man so mild, so tractable, and so complaisant as he is, *with proper management*. His haughty insolence of manners, so much complained of, is only a compound of habit and inattention. Most of the superior geniuses who have appeared in the world, gave early instances of their growing greatness. Alexander, when a boy, would contend only with kings, and bravely vaulted on the back of a most unmanageable horse, without bridle or saddle. Hughes nor Astley could have done no more. Sylla saw fifty Mariuses in Julius Cæsar, when a mere stripling. And Turenne discovered in

the handsome English Captain Marlborough, the General who was born to humble the pride of Lewis the Fourteenth. General Richard Smith had scarcely left school, when he felt his rising ambition so to elevate his martial soul, as to look down with contempt on the narrow limits of a cheesemonger's shop, and his custom was to walk before the house backward and forward, regardless of the plebeian souls who came only for pennyworths of cheese.—Degrading occupation for a son of Mars to be chained down to! His indignant, ambitious soul, soared into the clouds in search after fame; and in those fits of contemplation, his habit was to pass quick to and fro, swinging his body from side to side, biting his lip, and frowning contemptuously on all sorts of passengers; insomuch, that ignorant and ill natured people, who could not discover the future General in the cheesemonger's boy, conceived his manners to proceed from pride, and his insolence from self approbation. Now if it is true, that “As the twig is bent, the tree's inclin'd,” the habits contracted in youth attend our riper years; and I appeal to all who know the General to determine, whether or not, his habitual manners, which grew out of his conscious merit, when but a retailer of cheese, has not ever since invariably attended him, from the shop to the ship, to the camp, to Brooke's, to King's College in the Borough, to St. Stephen's Chapel, and into the Chair of the Committee; (and no man who knows him well,
will

will deny the fact.) Is it not, therefore, very clear, that what people fancy to be insolence, is nothing more nor less than a habit, contracted young, which has grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength: and it is as reasonable for mankind to expect, that an old oak, which has been growing crooked for sixty years, should at once lift its head, and stand upright, as that General Richard Smith should cease to frown, to look big, swing himself about, and treat *some people* with contempt, when I shall prove that it always has been his habit so to do, *to those who were content to bear it.*

Man is a short sighted animal, and very apt to draw conclusions from external and superficial appearances, without being at the trouble to look deep into things; and many men whom I know, and many more whom I do not know, have turned from the General with disgust, and to justify their own fears of a very *harmless and inoffensive being*, have asserted that he was an imperious and very irascible man.—No such matter:—he is as mild and tame as a new dropped lamb, to those who know him well, as I shall make appear in two or three instances, which I hope will be deemed as valid as two thousand.

Great men must keep their inferiors at a distance; all languages have proverbs expressive of such necessity; and I have a right to treat any man with

contempt, who is content to be contemptuously treated.

"A man's true merit 'tis not hard to find,

"But each man's secret standard in his mind ;

"That solid weight pride adds to emptiness ;

"This who can gratify, for who can guess ?"

No man understood this doctrine better than General Smith : with him every man was a fellow, who was content to be called so, or treated as such.

When the General first left the occupation of purser's mate, and became an ensign in the East India Company's service at Madras, the Governor of the town had, in those days, no particular officer, whose sole duty it was to guard or attend about his person. The town or fort of Madras, was small, and the government house was situated near the landing place, or water-gate ; and it was the custom for the officer on guard at the water-gate, on a strange ship or vessel coming into the road, not only to report the same to the Governor, but also when the master or commander came on shore, to go with him to the Chief. By this means the Governor received the first intelligence from abroad, and the captain of the vessel found an easy and convenient introduction to the Governor of the garrison. It happened that Ensign Smith was on duty at the water-gate, when

when a captain of a vessel (no stranger at Madras) came into the court of guard, and desired the serjeant in waiting, to inform the officer on duty, that he was come on shore. Ensign Richard Smith, either not dressed, or not at leisure, called out loud enough to be heard, "Bid the *fellow* to wait: I am not ready to go with him to the Governor." The captain, who was a true born son of Neptune, bluntly answered, "Tell the *puppy* that I will not wait. I know the Governor, and the way to him, as well as he does;" and so proceeded by himself.

In those days, when our Governors were also merchants, it was usual for them to ask the captains of the country ships to dine with them, on the first day of their coming on shore, and very common for the chief and captain to strike a bargain for the cargo, over a cheerful bottle after dinner, or before they parted. The ensign on duty at the water-gate, had also a plate at the bottom of the table, where he officiated in the various capacities of taster, officer, carver, and chaplain, (formerly military men could say grace.) Ensign Smith but ill brooked the seaman's retort valiant, and had, in the guard room, after the captain was gone, thrown out some indignant threats, expressive of his displeasure. The Governor sat late at the council board, and the ensign found the *fellow* walking in the hall, and a most confounded
 four

four looking athletic *fellow* he was. Our future General had sense enough to reconnoitre the man, who, under the outside cover of rough unpolished manners, possessed a generous mind and good heart, equally ready to shake hands and be friends, or cuff it out. "I am sorry, Sir," says the ensign, "that I was not ready to attend you on your first landing, to the Governor." "I wish you had said half so much in the morning, Sir," said the other, "we should not now have had to apologize to one another for what is past. Zounds! I is no stranger here, man. I knows his honour, and the way to him, as well as any he in Madrafs. But come, let us drink a glass to his health;" and so the matter ended. Was not this manly in the General, was it not great? Does such conduct mark a man for vindictive arrogance, or haughtiness of disposition?

It once happened that the present Sir William Draper had the command of the parade at Madrafs, when our hero, then a captain, having some business with him, and being lost in his habitual contemplation of self importance, walked up to the colonel, without observing the ceremony of touching his hat. This the commanding officer rectified by striking it off his head. Here again Mr. Smith's good sense relieved him; for after grumbling a little, frowning, and swinging about his person, he came coolly to himself as before. Can any proof be more strong then, that when General Smith is reminded

reminded of his habitual inattention, that he immediately rectifies it?

When the General was in command of the army at Bengal, his lofty soul disdaining command from a mere mercantile Governor, he wrote to his superior a very extraordinary letter. You must observe, that at the time of his writing it, he was at the distance of five hundred miles from the Governor : but as he soon after came down to the presidency, the Governor, before he would see him, sent a *rough hand*, one of his aid-du-camps, who well knew how to deliver a message in plain English, and in proper terms to such a man, most candidly, and in few words, told the General, that he must instantly recall that paper, (shewing at the same time, the General's letter to the Governor,) or he had another message to deliver not quite so pleasing. The General took the aid-du camp's advice ; the letter was recalled, and the matter, like the two former, was forgotten.

Here are three instances, selected from a hundred which I could introduce, to prove how much mankind are mistaken in the true character of Gen. Richard Smith ; the first verbal, the second silent, and the third written. If, after this, people are so obstinate as not to admit, that General Smith, *properly dealt with*, is not a very docile and manageable gentleman, why I have done with them.

I have

I hope to draw some credit to myself, for thus voluntarily entering the lists unfought, and, I believe, unlooked for, by the General, in vindication of his character, against evil minded men. I am not at all concerned as to the manner how the General may take this shew of kindness in me; a generous act is a species of virtue, and carries with it its own reward.

Having paved the way in this my first part, for an immediate entrance into my second, by having proved that the Chairman of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, now employed on Asiatic mercantile affairs, is fully equal to the task they have in hand, I shall, after a slight deduction of historical facts, introduce the hints promised in my title page;

A R T II.

BEFORE the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in the middle of the fifteenth century, general commerce was little known, and less understood, in Europe. Venice, in Italy, had indeed risen into some degree of notice, from a concurrence of accidental circumstances, and her fortunate situation. The new, or western world, had not then been discovered: nor had the passage into Asia, by the Cape of Good Hope, yet been effected.

Her

Her insular situation at the head of the Adriatic Sea, and on the confines, as it were, of both divisions of the Roman empire, enabled her to give protection to the persecuted merchants, from the sea coasts of Greece, from Constantinople, and from Rome, when those rival capitals were ravaged and laid waste, by the barbarians from the north.

So circumstanced, she drew to herself, most of the trade of the sea coasts of the Mediterranean, as well as that which was carried on by Alexandria and Suez, on the Red Sea, to and from India, and for a time, flourished more from the extreme ignorance and indolence of her neighbouring states, than from any internal mercantile resources of her own.

Most of the great states, which now take the lead in the affairs of Europe, had been formed before this period, but were cruelly embarrassed by the imperfect forms of the feudal system of government, from which defect, they underwent violent, and almost perpetual convulsions, that in their consequences, drove them back into anarchy, confusion, and barbarism, and left them little or no time, to consult and woo the genius of commerce; infomuch, that the mercantile concerns of most of the European states, whose shores are washed by the Atlantic Ocean, the British Channel,

Channel, and North Sea, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the head of the Baltic, was carried on by a number of cities under the denomination of the Hanfatic league, which, from their disjunctive and unconnected situations, could direct the commercial affairs of great states, no longer than until such states had the necessary respite from civil discord, and internal convulsion, to enable them to consult their true mercantile interests, independent of all foreign contingencies.

Our Henry VII. the first Prince of the Tudor line, perhaps ought to have the credit of discovering, that to divide property, and encourage foreign commerce, would be the ready means to draw off and find employment for the martial and restless spirits, who constantly grew up under the feudul system of government ; (for I cannot think that such a wretched miser had the good of mankind in view in any undertaking of his ; as to that vice we owe his rejection of Columbus's plan, offered by his brother to that selfish Prince, for discovering of the new world.) The old resource formerly practised by the Plantaganet Princes, of leading them off the Island by thousands, to have them knocked on the head on the continent of Europe, or to the Holy Land, was growing obsolete and out of fashion. We had lost almost all our possessions in France ; and the nation was growing tired of the bigotted and superstitious system, of
maintaining

maintaining one half of the nation from the labour of the other, under the various and endless distinctions and denominations, of monks, friars, nuns, lay brothers, &c. &c.

Towards the end of this century, some very noble discoveries were made: the art of printing revived a spirit for literature, which forming a confederacy with other arts and sciences, paved the way for expelling tyranny and superstition, and establishing liberty and commerce. Yet their advances were but slow. The nation had religious and civil habits of long standing, to conquer; and Henry VIII. possessed more vices and (avarice excepted) fewer virtues than his father. In the former reign, the spirit and power of the nobles had been broken and reduced, but in this it was totally annihilated, and nothing was substituted in its stead by that bloody and beastly tyrant. He did little for commerce, and went no further in the reformation, than suited his own selfish purposes. His son was too young, and his life too short, to mark the æra of his reign; and Mary sunk us back into the shades of night, in whose bloody reign, the tyranny of the father was exceeded by the furious bigotry of the daughter: no ray of light was seen, but such as emitted from the fires kindled all over the kingdom, by the violence of superstition. She was succeeded by Elizabeth, the glory of the English name, in whose
 wife

wise government much was done, and much more left undone. She was a friend to learning and commerce, and understood better than any of her cotemporary Princes, the true use of both; and but for some tyrannic traits in her character, which too strongly marked the loins from whence she sprung, I should have hoped that she had been a bastard, and not of the House of Tudor. None of her predecessors had fewer vices, nor any of her successors more virtues. Her faults were the foibles of her sex. The woman's weakness sometimes appeared; but she lived and died a great and glorious Princess; to whose consummate wisdom, and inimitable abilities, the nation owed the formation of its character, and almost the whole of its mercantile spirit of adventure, which has since raised it to so great a degree of power and grandeur.

Spain never has been a great mercantile state. The Princes and potentates on the southern parts of the continent of Europe, whose several dominions were formed from scraps and fragments of the Roman state, and whose subjects had imbibed the customs and manners of their conquerors, the Goths, Visi-Goths, the Huns, and the Vandals, for a long course of ages, suffered all the horrors of that worst of tyrannies, the feudal system of government. Their youth and prime of manhood, was spent in devising means to lay waste the territories

territories of their neighbours, and to destroy their fellow creatures; and their decline of life, in praying forgiveness for their enormities, at the shrines of saints and tombs of martyrs. At length the House of Austria had, by intrigues, wars, marriages, and treaties, acquired very extensive dominions on the continent, and formed a powerful state, when, towards the end of the fifteenth century, the great Columbus added, by his discoveries, a new world to their dominions. This had no other effect than to raise in the minds of the Princes of that house, the idea of universal monarchy. The money imported from the new world, enabled them to put arms into the hands of half Europe, in order to cut the throats of the other half; and this vile project they carried on for near a hundred years, when the revolt of the States of Holland, and the destruction of their grand armada, towards the end of the sixteenth century, reduced their overgrown power within proper bounds. Their greatness may be said to have been long supported by the art of navigation, but never by the true and genuine efforts of commerce; for they never did, nor do they now, well understand it. In their prosperity, and since their decline, England and France have been their manufacturers, and the small States of Italy, and Republic of Holland, their marine carriers.

Portugal

Portugal started up at the same time, as it were, from nothing, and by the discovery of the passage by sea to India, became great conquerors of ignorant, unarmed, and undisciplined nations, and for a while, made a noise in the world, because she had no rivals; but not having the fundamentals of commerce in her own bowels, no sooner had the Dutch emancipated themselves from the yoke of Spain, and England recovered from her internal convulsions, and established her civil, religious, and mercantile liberty, but Portugal sunk again into her original nothingness. This brings us down to the end of the seventeenth century; from which period, to the present time, Spain and Portugal may be said to have wrought their mines, to keep the mills, the forges, the ploughs, the looms, and the tonnage, of France and England, in active and perpetual motion.

As to the Dutch, necessity, and not happiness of situation, extent of dominion, or internal resources, first made fishermen of them, and then carriers to other nations. Merchants they have never been, but merely monopolizers of the home fishery, and the Asiatic spices. They felt and resisted the tyranny of Spain at a fortunate moment. The minds of other Europeans, as well as their own, had but just emerged from religious and civil slavery; nor had the wounds caused by the feudal system of government, been long enough healed,

healed, by the less odious form of despotism established on the continent in a single person, nor the latter had time to mature itself, so as to give form and life to the true spirit of internal and external commerce, the Dutch found that supplying the Catholic countries with fish, was all their own, and this led to the discovery, that a spirit of commerce was fast rising in all the states on the continent of Europe, from the Baltic to the Adriatic Sea inclusive, that each nation was in want of something manufactured or cultivated in the others, and they wisely undertook to be the goers between, and become the carriers of the whole. This caused such a flow of wealth, of people, and of every article necessary for navigation and ship building, into their almost self-created country, that in a very few years, they astonished mankind with the greatest number of well built merchant ships, and armed fleets of men of war, that the world had hitherto known; owing entirely to the lucky circumstance of the times, which in a few years, carried them by a career of uncommon success to their meridian splendor; but it could not last; the resources of all this opulence and grandeur, lay not in themselves, in their form of government, in their situation, or internal resources, but were entirely owing to the inattention of their less active, but more powerful neighbours, France and England: These two powers had, from various causes, been more slow and negligent in pushing forward their mercantile

nantile interests; not from supineness, but from
 not having the same spur of necessity to impel
 them forward into action, which the Dutch had.
 The glorious struggle made by the Republic in the
 days of Cromwell and Charles II. in disputing
 with the English the dominion of the narrow seas,
 roused that nation into action: and the efforts
 made in the middle period of the reign of Lewis
 XIV. to establish a maritime force, gave the same
 spring of action to the French nation. From the
 Dutch naval war of 1672, I date the commence-
 ment of the decline of the Dutch power. It has
 been gradually falling ever since; not from any
 defect in their form of government, or the misma-
 nagement of their governors, but from the inevi-
 table effects of natural causes. Almost all Europe,
 in times of peace, carry on their own share of com-
 merce in their own bottoms. England, France,
 and America, fish not only for themselves, but
 supply all other parts of Europe with that article,
 as also such others as are manufactured in their
 own kingdoms. The Dutch trade to the East Indies
 has fallen much to decay. Their monopoly of spices,
 and the teas which, by some defect in our general
 police, they smuggle in upon us, are the only
 branches of trade they have left to that quarter of the
 world, a little Java sugar excepted. Their colonies
 and settlements in the West Indies, and on the coast
 of Africa, are supplied with more of the manu-
 factures of France and England, than of their own
 provinces.

The contemptible figure which they lately made in the war with England, shews very plainly, that the power of a state may be almost annihilated, yet the spirit of the people remain; for as individuals, they behaved with their wonted courage: nor will it be thought presumptuous in me to predict, that from the above causes, another century (should they so long continue to exist, in spite of their own internal commotions, and the ambitious views of their more powerful neighbours) will reduce them to their primitive state of milk wives and fishermen as individuals, and into the poor distressed States of Holland as a nation. Whilst the surrounding powers of Europe continued employed in subduing the haughty spirit imbibed by their nobility from the nature of the feudal system of government, or in their more pernicious wars and massacres, in order to reduce the minds of their subjects, to the confined and limited ideas of Roman superstition, under the denomination of the true Catholic religion, the Dutch government took advantage of their egregious folly and religious frenzy, and supplied them with fish, tonnage, and manufactures. Spain has not yet recovered from the injury done her from the expulsion of the Moors; and France feels to this hour, the baneful effects of the repeal of the Edict of Nantes. What the great Henry IV. in his wisdom enacted, the cowardly superstition of Lewis XIV. in his vanity, or in his dotage, injudiciously did away.

The industry and parsimony of the lower orders of the people in Holland, may be said at present to prop their declining country; and a succession of De Wirts', if they were to be had, might enable the States to figure a campaign or two more, in some future war, or wars, by drawing out the latent powers of the state, and cause them to fall gloriously in the last dike; but fall they must, whenever the great neighbouring states shall have settled among themselves, how, and in what manner, to divide their spoik. They rose suddenly into power, and blazed like a meteor for a time, from the causes above alluded to; those causes time has removed, and the effects of course must cease. If the fury of their party zealots, would permit them to see their true interests, they should connect themselves closer than ever with Great Britain, in all her future offensive or defensive measures. Or perhaps their period of existence, as an independent people, might be prolonged by creating the Prince of Orange King of Holland. However they may determine, their sun of glory, as a powerful mercantile state, has long since been set for ever.

I have not searched into the dark and confused accounts of antient commercial kingdoms or republics, to find the causes of their rise into, or fall from power. It would be to burlesque the subject, to attempt to describe the maritime power of the Persians.

Persians and the Grecians, of the Romans and the Carthagenians; the whole of their naval wars were confined to the straits, creeks, bays, havens, roads, and harbours, of the still water, in the Mediterranean and Euxine, or Black, Seas. Six frigates of modern construction, would have destroyed the united fleets of the four above mentioned powers. Carthage, like Venice or Holland, flourished for a time, as a maritime power; but we are not sufficiently acquainted with their particular and internal history, code of jurisprudence, or commercial policy, to judge of her national mercantile resources.

The kingdoms of France and of England, are the only two mighty powers that have yet appeared on the stage of the world, who have possessed within their own immediate domains, independent of accidental and external causes, the means of raising, by slow, sure, and imperceptible degrees, a permanent and powerful naval force, which has resisted, and will continue to resist, the efforts of time itself, and is subject only to the bloody conflicts, and frequent ruinous wars, which the jealousy of each others power have for ages past, and will for ages to come, in all human probability involve them: These powerful and jealous neighbouring nations, have taken the lead in the affairs of Europe, for more than a century past; and it is astonishing to think, what seas of blood, and mountains of trea-

sure, have been wasted on both sides, each with a view of reducing the power, and humbling the pride, of its rival. But it is yet more astonishing to consider, that these frequently repeated and dreadful struggles, instead of destroying one or both of the combatants, or so weakening of them, that advantage should be taken of their debility, to wrench from them some of their dominions by other neighbouring states, they have constantly returned to the charge, after a very few years respite, more vigorous and powerful than before. Nor have their violent and wonderful exertions, to pull down and destroy one another, had any effect on the face of affairs in Europe; for a very few and trifling changes excepted, the maritime powers on the continent, remain precisely in the same situation, as to extent of dominion, and degree of credit and estimation, in the scale of European politics, which they did almost a century ago. The affairs of Russia, Prussia, and Poland, very little influence the contests of France and England. Politicians will tell you, that the balance of power established on the continent of Europe, is the cause of this equality between these famous kingdoms; and yet since the commencement of this century, most of the great landed powers on the continent, have joined in a confederacy, in order to crush France; and in the late war, the maritime states did the same to ruin England. In the first, France had very little assistance from her allies: In the last,

England.

England had neither allies nor friends; and besides, had a full fourth of her own subjects joined with her enemies against her. France escaped unruined from the first confederacy, and England from the last. She has laid down her arms; not as a bankrupt nation, but with more real credit at command, than all Europe beside. The total dismemberment of America from her dominion, has been certain in the opinion of all Europe, ever since the capture of the army at York Town: And the accounts of her wars in Asia, have not been very favourable for the last eight months of the year 1782. Notwithstanding all this, and that every power in Europe, well knows that when the war accounts come to be wound up, she will have to provide for the interest of two hundred and forty millions of pounds sterling of funded debt, at an average of nearly four per cent. per annum, exclusive of her annual expences of government, or peace establishment, yet her credit remains so great, that the monied people all over the continent of Europe, are buying into her stocks, in which the 3 per cent. consolidated stock hath, in the course of two months, risen from fifty-five to sixty-eight pounds in their marketable value; and there are gentlemen now in Holland, who give it as their opinion (so eager are the rich people of that country to lodge their property in the English funds) that in one year's time after a peace, the above mentioned 3 per cent. fund, will be up

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at seventy-five on the Exchange of Amsterdam. All this is wonderfully surprising, and what even twenty years ago, would have been thought impossible. I shall say nothing as to what further amount such a nation as this may, with impunity, contract debts, which, from the nature of their formation, and the inability of the state to cancel its obligations, must become eternal. Commerce is a vast mystery, and credit a greater; yet in England they must have had very sound constitutions, or they would long since have fallen to decay. It is part of my plan to prove, that they are at this juncture, sound, healthy, and well, and in no danger of immediate injury, but stand on a foundation of adamant, and are likely to continue firm and permanent, for ages yet to come.

A very worthy friend of mine, who has employed too much of his time in poring over the works of such desponding calculators as Dr. Price, the Earl of Stair, &c. gave it to me as his opinion, that at the end of the war, close how it might, the interest on the national funds, must, at one dash, be reduced a full half; and that life annuities, for one, or at most two lives, must be granted even for the remaining half, which, from some of them soon falling in, the state would be in power to take the taxes from coals, leather, beer, soap, and other necessaries of life, and thereby enable our manufacturers to work cheaper, and go to market with
their

their goods on a par with their neighbours, and in the course of forty or fifty years, rid us of our national debt intirely: That such decisive measures alone, could save us from total ruin, &c. I had but one objection to his plan, and that was, that by the time we should so happily get rid of our national encumbrances, we should also have got rid of a full half of our people, two thirds of our manufacturers, and our whole power as a state; that our merchants would be all bankrupts, the greater part of our lands would lay waste and uncultivated, our lords would become farmers, our farmers beggars, and the present race of poor have been all starved. People who think so differently in political economy, seldom join issue. If I cannot, by a short deduction of facts, establish my hypothesis, why I will then go over to that of my friend; and I am sure it will make him very happy, if I can shew good cause for his coming over to mine.

After the seat of empire was removed by Constantine, from Rome to Constantinople, in the fourth century, Europe sunk fast into a state of darkness, superstition, and barbarism, on which it is dreadful even at this time to reflect, or cast back the minds eye. God said in chaos, let there be light, and there was light; but the wickedness of man was become so enormous, that he withdrew his presence, and suffered them even under the gospel dispensation, to become more furious than wild
beast

beasts of the forests, and worry and destroy one another with less compunction of remorse, and that for near a thousand years together. No part of the then inhabited Christian world, whether in Europe, Asia Minor, or in Africa, escaped the infernal and tyrannic scourge. From Norway to Nisibis in Mesopotamia, and from mount Atlas in Africa, to the wilds of Dacia, the Goths, Visi-Goths, Huns, and Vandals, were to the Aborigines on the continent, what the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, were to the inhabitants of Great Britain. But dreadful as their ravages and devastations were, in time they subsided, and by degrees, order was restored. It was something singular, that in every state which they formed out of the ruined fragments of the western part of the Roman empire, the Christian religion, and feudal system of government, were established. At the time when France and England are first observed to emerge from the dark obscurity of the middle ages, we find them professing the same religion, and subject to the same forms of government. Those who wish to know by what singular accidents, two neighbouring nations, who, in their nonage, were regulated and governed on principles exactly similar, both religious and civil, in course of time came to fix and establish, on foundations permanent and solid, the first an absolute monarchy, where the will of one man is the law of the land, and commands the persons and property

property of every individual in it, and the other a mixed government, where the most pure and perfect code of equal laws, and free constitution of government, are enacted, under the administration of which, *dukes* and their *postillions*, are equally protected in their persons and properties, I must refer them to a book, entitled the Constitution of England, written by J. L. de Lolme, advocate and citizen of Geneva; a work that no Englishman, who values his liberty, and reveres the constitution of his country, should omit to read.

When laymen, like Lord George Gordon, are for correcting and mending our religious code, and priests, such as Mr. Wyvill, quit their own line of duty, and become state tinkers, something must be wrong. Have we not had lopping enough? A third of the empire has been cut off at one stroke, and with it, I should suppose, one third part of the so much dreaded influence of the crown. If more lopping is necessary, let all Canada go. For my part, I hope not to live so long as to see the old trunk cut and mangled; it has stood the storm of ages, and amputation, however well intended, may cause its death. If we could *lop* some of our pretended patriots, it might be of service. As to lopping off boroughs, it would be a dangerous experiment, and in its consequences, lead to the destruction of the constitution. Should the spirit for emancipation and innovation,

innovation; operate so far as to induce a bill for such purpose, to pass the House of Commons, and the Lords continue to dose over such dangerous attempts, I have great confidence in the Crown, or executive power. The negative has, in some cases, slept too long; it will, I hope, be brought forward in time, to save us from our dreadful infatuation.

I shall think it matter of curious speculation, to observe the *blow-hot* and *blow-cold* of some of our modern patriots. They will support one bill to disfranchise the rotten boroughs (as they call them,) in order to lessen the influence of the crown, and at the same time, another to disfranchise the East India Company, to strengthen the hands of ministers. This will be chopping logick in action, as well as in words. In the conduct of their own private affairs, and in every common occurrence of life, no body of men in the world, shew greater sagacity, or manifest so ample a share of sound common sense, as the country gentlemen and yeomanry of England. But there is some witchcraft in oratory, which so benumbs their faculties, that a silver tongued declaimer, by a smooth and musical arrangement of his well chosen words, who possesses not a foot of land in the kingdom, nor three hundred pounds a year in the world, shall induce them to vote that the constitution is so much out of order, that nothing but a strong dose of poison can save it from dying.

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The complexion of the times furnishes a noble opportunity for Mr. *Edmund Burke* to prove himself a true and genuine patriot. At Bristol, he acquired a complete knowledge of our West India commerce. As a member of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, where, for two years together, he has been ransacking and poring over the East India Company's records, he must have acquired equal knowledge in the trade to Asia. His cousin, whom, during his short stay in office, he contrived to have created Paymaster of the King's forces in India, and fixed Ambassador (from God knows who) at the court of the Rajah of Tanjore, has no doubt furnished him with much important information. Now as the Irish may trade where and how they please, independent of this country, as well as the Americans, it would be but kind in that honourable gentleman, to set off for Dublin, with his acquired knowledge on one shoulder, and his *little bundle of virtues* on the other, and use his eloquence to persuade his countrymen to establish at Cork, Dublin, and King's-fale, East India, West India, and American Companies, or, to speak in popular phrase, commercial associations. Surely since all the world have shaken us off, we have patriots enough of our own national breed, to conduct our much curtailed political and mercantile affairs. Was I an English patriot, I would move the House to expel all aliens and interlopers of the patriotic tribe. As matters
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are, I see not why Doctor Franklin, or President Laurens, may not become Members of the House of Commons, as well as Mr. Edmund Burke.— Their English landed property, I believe, may be found, on enquiry, to lye in the same county. I should be highly diverted to be present in the gallery of the House, whilst that northern patriot, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, was persuading the English gentlemen, that an Irishman was a true born Englishman, and an American not so. Since the late peace has reduced to waste paper, all our laws and regulations which have passed, relative to the commerce of the western world, since the reign of Elizabeth, it will furnish fine food for the lawyers, to prove which is the straight, and which the crooked line of commerce; and to which state a loyal American, born before the peace, owes allegiance——But to return,

The dark cloud drawn over the human mind by the Catholic superstition, and the violent convulsions caused throughout all the continent of Europe, by the feudal system of government, had operated equally strong in the British Islands. Imperial Rome, who, in the days of the Republic, and during the tyranny of her own Cæsars, had known nothing of either, came at last to dictate in both. The eagle, grown blind with age, could soar no longer; and the standard in which it was displayed, was torn down and destroyed with impunity,

punity, by the northern and eastern barbarians; who, in their turn, subdued by church policy, bowed their necks to the figure of the cross; under which standard the Roman Pontiffs governed mankind more imperiously, from the Baltic to the Caspian Sea, without a single legion to support them, than the senate, the consuls, the dictators, and the Emperors, had heretofore done with forty. The human mind once subdued, the body becomes a lump of passive and slavish matter. Nothing but the most bigotted superstition, could have reduced the descendants of the old Greeks, to neck bowing Mahometans, nor those of Republican Rome, to squeaking fiddling Italians.

France and England both, long struggled in their chains, unknowing of their real strength. Our Henry VII. had divided the property of the nobles, by a kind of Egrarian law; and his son, from his imperious disposition, subdued their martial spirit entirely; denied the Pope's supremacy, and plundered the church; and thus did two Princes, unknowing of what they were about, or caring for the consequences of their actions, further than as they squared with their own vile passions of avarice and lust, break the chains of civil and religious tyranny. But the Commons of England, unconscious of their emancipation, continued very subservient to the mandates of the court, both in religious and civil affairs, during the reigns of the remaining Princes of the House of Tudor. Freedom of speech
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was denied them by the imperious Elizabeth, who, notwithstanding her great and motherly affection for her subjects, guarded, with the jealousy of a woman, the overgrown prerogatives of the crown, by those mortal enemies of civil liberty, the high commission court and star chamber. This princely tenacity in favour of the almost unbounded power of the crown, in such able hands as hers, was, in those days, hardly felt by the Commons, who had but just been freed from the tyranny of the church, and the weight of an imperious aristocracy. To the genius of this wonderful woman, we owe the first attempts at general navigation, universal commerce, and the establishment of naval power. To her we owe the compleat dispersion of the mist of superstition from the minds of the people at large: Though descended from tyrants, and herself by nature a tyrant, she roused the nation to a sense of their own power and dignity, and implanted in their minds, a real love of religious and civil liberty; the true spirit for agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, which, notwithstanding that she was succeeded by a pedant, an hypocrite, a libertine, and an enthusiast, (who were like her in nothing but an unbounded ambition of governing arbitrarily, which they had not the abilities to effect,) bore down every thing before them, and by the revolution at the end of the seventeenth century, established a freedom of person and of property, of thinking

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and of acting, which alone could have prepared the nation for a fair exertion of those latent powers, which this kingdom had always possessed, but never before had the opportunity to display.

France was blessed with an Henry IV. at the same period of time, in which this country enjoyed the wise government of Elizabeth. A Duke de Sully, supported by such a master, shewed what France was capable of performing; and a regular succession of great ministers, such as Richlieu, Mazarine, Colbert, &c. abetted in their politics, by the great spirit and character of Lewis XIV. established the French monarchy on so despotic a foundation, as not to be easily shaken. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, these rival nations had become the principal powers on the stage of Europe; since which period to the present time 1783, they have waged five desperate, bloody, and expensive wars, in all parts of the world; whose duration united, amounts to near forty years of the time; in which, perhaps, it is a moderate computation, to suppose that a thousand millions of money have been spent, and three millions of men, capable to bear arms, have been destroyed by land and by sea, on both sides, in consequence of those furious and dreadful struggles for pre-eminence of power.

Neither

Neither of these contending nations possess mines of silver or of gold, to enable them to support such astonishing efforts: nor have either, at the end of any one of those bloody wars, so reduced the other, as to leave them without hopes of recovering their strength in a few years, so as to enable them to try the fortune of war over again. Both have frequently sung *Te deum*, and both severely smarted for their apparent victories. In the course of ninety-five years, which have elapsed since the revolution in England, to the late peace of Paris, France has been obliged to make very humiliating concessions; first at the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713; and again at that of Paris, in 1763. And England has equally stooped to receive the law in her turn, at the hands of her adversary: once at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748; and lately at the peace of Paris, in 1783. Both declare in the most positive manner, to the other powers in Europe, that it is the love of peace which has induced them to lay down their arms, and accept of terms so moderate. The subjects of both complain equally loud against the great ruin that the war has brought upon them, and as vehemently exclaim against the conditions of the peace. But there is nothing of which the European world is more positively and certainly convinced, than that those two mighty nations, who have for a century past, taken every opportunity to worry and distress each other, and who, at this moment of time

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jointly owe more money, than is now in circulation on the face of the earth. Yet were they, instead of laying down their arms, to unite their forces, and declare war against all Christian Europe, such is their present power, and such their remaining resources to support it, that in all human probability, the several powers would be obliged to sue to them for a separate peace on their own terms. How the foundations have been laid, on which this wonderful influence has grown up to its present degree of surprising magnitude, with the probability of its continuation and increase, both in France and England, I will endeavour to explain in the following pages.

P A R T III.

FRANCE, considering the vast extent of its dominions, is the most compact, and, in point of climate, one of the best situated countries on the face of the earth. In no part of it do the natives suffer much from the intensity of the cold, or from excessive heat. The kingdom contains a full third more square miles than Great Britain, and is in all directions intersected with large rivers and natural canals; which last have been greatly improved by art, and excellently applied to the purposes of internal commerce; and thereby the raw materials produced in one province, are easily, and at small

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expence,

expence, transported into others, where they are wrought up, and prepared for home consumption, and for exportation. Their sea coast is very extensive, on which they have numbers of excellent ports and harbours, in the English Channel, the Bay of Biscay, and the Mediterranean Sea. The people are in numbers more than double the inhabitants of the British Isles; ingenious, lively, frugal, industrious, and, in general, wedded to the manufactures of their own country, and of which, generally speaking, they possess the greatest variety of any people on earth; though many of them are gaudy, and composed of materials of no great intrinsic value, as being calculated rather for show than use. So much is fashion in their favour, that besides keeping alive a very quick circulation of property throughout their own provinces, they also draw immense sums from the neighbouring nations on all sides; as a balance in their favour, for these light, and otherwise unimportant, articles of commerce.

But the great staple articles of their export trade, consists in their wines and brandies, to which all Christian Europe give a preference. With their light woollen cloths, rich silk, cambric, and muslin manufactures, they have a prodigious, and almost exclusive, trade with Turkey, and within the last fifty years, with Spain, Portugal, and the States of Italy, from all of whom they draw very capital balances

balances in cash, which, together with their trade to the coast of Africa, West and East Indies, the individual merchants and manufacturers in France, would grow immensely rich in the course of a few years of peace. But the insecurity of property, which, in that kingdom, lies open to a thousand oppressions, from the harpies of the state, and the capricious, unaccountable unsteadiness of their government, who are for ever projecting and devising reasons for involving them in new wars with England, prevents that nation from lying in a store and fund of wealth in the hands of individuals, from which, in due time, when the sponge should fall, they might raise constant and regular annual supplies, sufficient to establish a naval power, to be kept constantly in commission and exercise, that would raise them to a level with the navy of Great Britain.

It is this unsteady and fickle disposition in the natives of France, which is not only observable in the individuals, but also pervades every branch of their government, together with the despotic influence of the crown, which prevents the French nation from rising to an equality with the English, as a commercial and naval power. The necessary materials nature, no doubt, has put into her hands, did not certain circumstances, fortunately for England, prevent the French nation from making the true use of them.

I am well aware, that the situation of England is exceedingly well calculated for general commerce; that her climate and insular form, seem by nature calculated and intended, to breed up a more hardy race of seafaring people; that her internal resources are, in some instances, superior to those of France; and that the daring spirit of mercantile adventure in our merchants, and the persevering industry and ingenuity of our artists and manufacturers, exceed every thing of the kind in any other people. All this is admitted; but the causes of this spirit, and this perseverance, are merely accidental, arising entirely from the security our people feel in their persons and properties; defended, as they are, by the incomparable form of our matchless constitution of government, and the equality of our noble code of civil and religious laws, calculated for the protection of mental and personal liberty, and invariably administered with an eye to the preservation and security of the private property of every individual subject in the realm.

Whilst these blessings shall be continued to us unimpaired, our internal resources are infinite and inexhaustible—Without them, France in vain struggles to become our superior, as a naval power, and, truly commercial empire: for in my opinion the terms are synonymous, and ought not to be separated. Both nations have the

stamina,

stamina, with which to form great and durable maritime powers. The local advantages of each over the other, in particular instances and particular circumstances, might furnish matter for endless disputation, amongst philosophers and politicians of all denominations. I am a plain practical merchant, and mean to deal in plain matter of fact, supported by experience, and homely common sense: I have no whimsical hypothesis in view, that will require abstruse or metaphysical reasoning to support; past and present experience is what I have to shew; and common sense, and common reasoning, will serve the purpose of making it understood by every man in the kingdom.

When I said that commerce was a Proteus, I did not mean that she had no native country, and legal habitation; France and England are her native countries. Ignorance, superstition, and tyranny, may banish her for a while; but the *Amor Patriæ* will for ever attend her, and in the course of time bring about her return. The residence she made at Venice, with the Hans Towns, and in Holland, was the effect of necessity, and being unnatural, was of short duration. I am not treating of that common and necessary trade, in exchange of commodities, inseparable from all civilized nations, but of the fundamentals of that general and universal

versal commerce, which is necessary to form states into great and durable maritime powers.

I think that it is universally allowed, that France has the advantage of England, in every natural requisite necessary to form a great commercial state, or naval power; such as climate, situation, extent of dominion, fertility of soil, native commodities, or natural wealth, and populousness of inhabitants. England, on the other side, has no advantages over France, but such as arose originally from accident, and have since been improved by time and habit, into what, in many instances, are superior to what nature has more bountifully bestowed on her rival; such as the form of government, mode of faith, more early attachment to, and greater knowledge in, the great sciences of agriculture, and general commerce, which first gave life to her most marvellous credit, and have since been supported by it. Whilst these are carefully attended to and maintained, England will for ever take the lead of France as a naval power. And so far has her natural resources been from being exhausted, that they have not yet been fully explored, and may go on to be improved, *ad infinitum*.

To say that the loss of our dominion over the colonies, implies the loss of our trade with the colonies, is a very great mistake; as much of it will remain

remain, as we ourselves can wish should remain:—

But I hope that with the loss of our dominion over North America, we shall lose the rage for foreign colonization, and learn to colonize at home. Too much attention has been given to encourage and feed nations, who, whilst they were growing up to maturity, became aliens first, and then inimical to us. Peace be to them, and their independency. Our language, manners, customs, habits, laws, religion, and liberty, from all which they have drawn their own, will remain attachments very powerful, and will attract them towards us. And there are other causes which will bind them fast: Their wants are many, and will long continue, and no other nation on the face of the earth, is so able and so willing to supply them. As America increases in population, they will want more and more of the manufactures of England; and a full half of the money which their trade to Europe will produce from fish, corn, flour, rice, tobacco, furs, lumber, oil, tonnage, &c. will be remitted to London, Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow, to make good their orders for the innumerable articles of English manufactures, which they will not be able to make at home equally good and cheap, for ages yet to come. Their necessities will continue them our friends; and I fear more from the mercantile spirit of our merchants, in giving them too much credit, before their infant state is well settled, than from any want of attachment in the Americans to our wares and merchandize.

Surely

Surely we are by this time convinced of the folly of a few small islands, however populous and powerful, hoping to draw benefit from waging continental wars with more powerful nations. In the beginning of this century, we fancied that we saw ruin from the crown of Spain falling to a Prince of the House of Bourbon, and run fifty millions in debt to prevent it, without effect. Then we squabbled with Spain about some logwood huts in the Bays of Campechy and Honduras, which involved us in a war with that and the other branch of the House of Bourbon, and brought the debt up to eighty millions. Then we dreamt that if we did not prevent the French from further encroachments on the back of our colonies in North America, they would in time drive them into the Atlantic Ocean, where they would be all drowned, and we in consequence ruined. To prevent this imaginary evil, we increased our national debt to one hundred and thirty millions. Then not being able to find any body to quarrel with, we went to war with our own colonies, which having lost, and at the same time submitted to be placed back into nearly the same situation at the last peace, as we were in at the peace of Utrecht in 1713, on balancing our accounts, we find on our books, Debtor side, 240,000,000*l.* Creditor side, *a wide waste of expensive, and otherways useless, country in Canada.* But until some future governor, whose impatient spirit to govern the natives by his own will,

will, contrary to their rights and priviledges, shall represent to the ministry, that the Canadians, encouraged by the Americans, are unmanageable, and thereby delude us into another war on that continent, to get rid of it, it is not easy to say, how much more we must run in debt, before we shall be compelled from necessity, to mind our own affairs, and multiply at home.

The above account current, as it stands now, puts me in mind of the wisdom of a countryman of mine, who coming in his way from church, to a wide ditch full of water, waghered with himself a guinea, that he could jump over it, and succeeded. He then waghered double or quits, that he could jump back again; but in the attempt fell in, and was nearly drowned. At length getting out, he observed, that as he had neither won nor lost, the most prudent way would be to go home and dry himself.—I hope that we have made our last jump over the Atlantic Ocean to seek warfare, and shall in future seriously set about drying ourselves.

I cannot, in this place, avoid expressing a wish, that by degrees we shall disband our whole army, and in future depend on our militia for our home defence, and find some means to colonize our own waste lands, with the soldiers and unprovided for unmarried woman, and in their stead, keep up fifty or, at least forty, thousand seamen, on register,

two thirds of whom, in rotation, might be allowed leave of absence on full pay, provided they engaged in the home trade, or narrow sea fishery, by which more than double their pay and allowances, would be saved to the nation, now paid to the Ostenders and Dutch, for fish in the port of London only.

With such a body of able seamen, who should not be entitled to their quarterly, half yearly, or twelvemonths allowance, from the state; but by giving proper bondsmen for their appearance when wanted, and producing certificates, specifying how they had passed their time, whether in the coal trade, coasting trade, or narrow sea fishery; which certificate to be signed by proper officers stationed in all the sea port towns round the Island, as well as the Mayor, or first civil officer, and the Vicar of the parish, to which the man belonged. Some such establishment and regulation, would insure to the state, able and good seamen at short warning, sufficient to man sixty sail of the line, and the necessary frigates. Such a force would command, at least, forbearance from insult from foreign states, and defend our remaining transmarine possessions, and the narrow seas, until the nation could put forth her whole strength in her own defence.

As to confederate wars, and protection of allies, I hope we shall no more trust to paper security, or involve ourselves in continental connections.

In

In our late hour of extreme distress, at the moment when we were obliged to risk the honour and safety of the nation, in sending our whole collected strength to relieve Gibraltar, in vain did we cast our eyes to the continent in search of a friend or ally. The Emperor, whose family owed to us every thing, was deaf; the King of Prussia passive; and three of the most insignificant maritime states in Europe, strutted and looked big with their armed neutrality, on their fish-pond the Baltic. Gracious heaven, in thy infinite goodness and mercy, so liberally bestowed and bountifully given, in manifold instances, to the happy people of these thy favoured Islands, be graciously pleased to add thereto, a small portion of common sense, to enable us to benefit from them. We are tolerable internal legislators, but miserable politicians, as it relates to our connections with the world at large.

Though the English nation has long been famous for agriculture, they are yet very short of perfection. The bounty on the exportation of corn, was the wisest act of modern legislation, which can only be exceeded by a heavy duty on horses kept for shew and pleasure, more than for real use. These animals consume much, and return nothing to the public stock: A five year's old bullock, in a commercial country such as this, is worth fifty of them. They till the earth, manure the land; their flesh supplies food for people of all
ranks

ranks, and their hide and tallow, furnish employment and covering, to numbers of labouring poor handicraftsmen, shopkeepers, merchants, and at last become one of our first staple articles of foreign commerce in leather. The various articles of conveniency and use made from it in England, are in the highest estimation all the world over.

It was our attention to agriculture, that first laid the foundation of our present commercial importance, and whilst that shall be duly attended to, and properly improved, the unrivalled spirit of adventure, in the construction of new home made manufactures, and desire to extend foreign commerce, which has spread itself into every corner of the kingdom, will continue to increase, and with it the natural strength of the nation, a naval power.

Whilst the heads of the Spaniards and Portugeze were absolutely turned, from the accidental circumstances of the discoveries of the new world, and passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, they formed proverbial sayings in their different languages, expressive of their contempt of those very people, whom the rest of Europe dignified with the emphatical appellation of the maritime powers. The English were their cutlers, their leather dressers, and their clothiers; and the Dutch their marine storekeepers, their fishermen, and their watermen, who kept vessels of all burthens and denominations,

mitations, for no other purpose but to convey to the proud Portugueze, and indignant Spaniard, the conveniencies and luxuries of life, for which they deigned to pay them in gold and silver, remitted by their slaves from their new farms in the east and in the western world. To keep up this external shew of weak pride, and certain means of real internal ruin and debasement, they depopulated their several nations, to supply tyrants in pomp, and slaves in fact, for the new discovered regions : for their ill gotten gold was of no other service, when it arrived in Europe, than to pay to those very nations, whom they affected to despise, for manufactures and merchandize, without which they could no longer exist, whilst their fishermen and clothiers, as they in derision called them, become so much their masters, as to dictate the law to them in the new and in the old world.

The difference of natural advantages possessed by the two rival trading nations, England and Holland, marked from the first their final fate. England rose slowly into real and permanent power ; her agriculture and manufactures in general, went hand in hand. The Dutch possessed little internal means of either. The sea was their common ; and whilst other nations continued lazy, or so inattentive to their interests, as not to fish and navigate for themselves, the Republic rose suddenly from the Poor and Distressed, into the High and Mighty States

States of Holland. But the last hundred years has removed the mist from their neighbours eyes; and they are again declining, and must, from the nature of things, decline, until they fall back into their natural rank amongst the powers of Europe; and even that will not be permitted to them much longer, if they continue to desert and betray, as they lately have done, their only true, natural, and faithful ally, England, whose influence and friendship alone, can support their independence in Europe, and their possessions in Asia.

There were times when the English government neglected their true interests, and suffered their peoples rage for manufactures, to make injudicious advances forward, whilst agriculture was neglected and left behind, and they were called back to their reason, by the disagreeable consequences of frequent, though perhaps temporary, scarcity, which obliged them to permit to be imported from abroad, the necessary provision for their labouring and manufacturing people. When ever this happens, or from whatever cause, the shock is more severely felt, than the raising ten times the sum sent abroad for provisions would be, if levied on her working people, by regular, well timed, and judiciously laid taxes. Shocks of all sorts, cause violent obstructions in commercial as well as natural bodies, and that of a scarcity of provision, the worst of all. It deranges, in innumerable instances, private and individual

individual economy, and that clogs the commercial wheels, for years after the scarcity itself has been forgotten. Statesmen, politicians, and projectors, are for ever quacking to cure an effect, which they mistake for an efficient cause, though the cause itself has ceased to operate, and often, like quacks to the natural body, destroy what, if left to time, to nature, and a good constitution, would, by degrees, have recovered of itself. The limits which I have prescribed to myself, prevent my going into a detail of circumstances, to prove this important fact in this place. Something I shall say on the subject, when I come to treat of our Asiatic commerce, in the fourth and last part.

It is not possible for a commercial state to be injured by too great an extension of her manufactures, whether wrought from raw materials of her own produce, or from such as are imported from abroad, provided that her agriculture so far keeps pace with them, as to enable her to maintain the manufacturers with corn and other provision, the produce of her own internal dominion, and admit annually of some considerable degree of exportation. France and Spain, in time of war, pay very high prices, both at home and in their colonies abroad, for Irish salted provisions. Some coffee-house politicians, express uneasiness at this—as if, by withholding of it, we could starve them. I think so differently from these gentlemen, that if it
should

should so happen, that during a war, wheat was in plenty in England, at four shillings the bushel, and there was a scarcity of that necessary of life in France, I would permit the exportation of it duty free into the enemies country, until it rose to five shillings and sixpence a bushel at home. I speak not now as a Christian or as a moralist, actuated by charity or humanity, but merely as a mercantile politician. Money is said to be the sinews of war; if so, that nation who, by changing her superfluities into money, even with the power with whom she is at war, would, in proportion to such commerce of exchange, weaken her adversary, and strengthen herself. And was a committee to be formed by the House of Commons, composed of country gentlemen, and some of our great foreign merchants, whose only business it should be to examine into, and watch over, the selling price of corn all over the kingdom, and warn the House constantly of its aggregate rise or fall, so as that by increasing or checking in time, the exportation, the price per bushel could be kept vibrating between five and six shillings on a general average, in all parts of the kingdom. The great and staple manufactures of the kingdom would not only take care of themselves, but increase in exportation beyond our present ideas.

Had the great Chatham lived to have conducted the late unfortunate war, he must, to have acted consistently

consistently with his own principles, have stirred up a war against France in Flanders or Germany, in order to have wasted her power there, and preserved America in the field where he boasted that he won it. But with every mark of respect to the memory of that immortal man, I do affirm, that continental wars have always been the bane of England. Her former wars on the continent of Europe, were rank delirium; but the last on the continent of America, was madness itself. God knows whether this nation is, in the course of his providence, to be blessed with an administration, whose sole views and exertions, will be directed to the defence of ourselves, and the annoyance of our enemies, on the true principles of an insular kingdom and commercial state, a naval power. It never has happened yet. Some infatuation or other, has always dragged us into a continental war, for which our patriots and politicians, have sometimes assigned such reasons, as were inconsistent with common sense, or common honesty.

Lewis XIV. born in the lap of tyranny, brought up and cherished in the principles of despotism, either did not, or would not, understand, that the English nation had a right to take their crown from the head of James II. and put it on that of Mary his eldest daughter, and her husband, the Prince of Orange; whilst the King their father was yet alive; and having besides, contracted a

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personal

personal friendship with James, whilst that Prince was an exile in his dominions, during the usurpation of Cromwell, considered himself as bound in honour, to do something to support the interest of that Prince. It is generally believed, that he had made a solemn promise to James on his death bed, to acknowledge his infant son King of England, when his own demise should happen, and support his interest, when the death of William III. should give a fair opportunity so to do. He kept his word; and it must be allowed that this was a just cause of offence. Had England confined her operations to a naval war, she would have acted justly and prudently, and in all probability, soon have reduced Lewis to reason.

Charles II. King of Spain, died about the same time, who had, by the laws of Spain, as good and just a right to leave his crown to a Prince of the House of Bourbon, as the Parliament of England had to give the crown of James to Mary and William. But this fact, so plain to common sense and common honesty, wilful headstrong policy would not see. And the English nation, who felt the utmost disgust that a King of France should presume to interfere with the succession to their crown, suffered themselves to be persuaded by the popular orators of the day, that they had a right to involve all Spain in a civil war, in order to force on them a Prince of the House of Austria, in violation of
their

their own feelings, and the right of their deceased monarch, to appoint a successor to his throne; and voted away millions after millions of money, in order to compel the Spaniards to accept a King of English nomination, when they were determined not to submit to the indignity of receiving a King themselves from France, though he was a Prince who had lately been born in their own dominions, and lineally descended from their own line of hereditary Kings, for I know not how many ages back.

The honesty of such proceedings out of the question, the policy proved ruinous and abominable. Before the succession war, the natives of France and Spain, were more averse to one another, than any other two nations in Europe. A Spaniard looked on all Frenchmen as being born the inveterate enemies of his country; and individually, as a skipping, dancing ape, in man's apparel. In return, the Frenchman considered the Spaniard as uncivilized, unsocial, fullen, solemn, pedantic, whose whole wisdom lay in his long sword and enormous cloak. Lewis XIV. has the credit of saying, that the Pyreneans were removed by his grandson's accession to the crown of Spain, but was our folly which removed the mountains of national prejudice. The Spaniards saw and felt a British army ravaging every province in their kingdom, to force a King upon them against their inclination, and the French acting as their friends,

in defending their right to adopt the Prince left them by the will of their late sovereign, whom they acknowledged had a right to such nomination. Before that unjust and injudicious war, France enjoyed little or no mercantile intercourse with Spain; and the subjects of the latter were so attached to English manufactures of all sorts, that our export trade in those days was very great, both to that and its neighbouring kingdom of Portugal. But from the peace of Utrecht, when Philip of Anjou, Lewis the XIVth's grandson, was acknowledged King of Spain, notwithstanding all our expence of blood and treasure to prevent it, from that fatal period to the present moment, the French have adapted their conduct and politics, to the manners and feelings of the Spaniards, and their manufactures to their fashions and habits, insomuch, that their trade with Spain is ten times over more than ours and their national prejudices have been in a great measure transferred from the French to the English when if we had suffered the Spaniards to do for themselves, what we were doing at the same time for ourselves, taking the foreign Prince whom they liked to govern them, the French Prince and his successors, would have become Spaniards in habit and principle, as the House of Hanover has become English. This accounts for the loss of half of what is called our Levant trade. I shall take notice of the causes of the loss of the other half, in part fourth.

The gradual decline of our export trade to the south of Europe, was neither noticed nor felt; for about the same time, the demand for our manufactures from our colonies in the West Indies, and in North America, began to be considerable. What we lost we did not miss, nor did we observe into what channel it was running, otherwise the nation would not have compelled the ministry into a war with Spain in the year 1739, on so frivolous an account, as a dispute about a little logwood, and a few huts, in the Bay of Honduras; which injudicious dispute, rivited the Spaniards in their dislike to our nation, and threw them absolutely into the arms of France for protection, against our growing naval power; and by keeping their merchants from any direct communication with this country for ten years, turned the balance of their demands for foreign manufactures for home consumption, their West India Islands, and continent of South America, totally in favour of France. A trade once turned from a country at a distance, into that of another country on the same continent, and nearer home, soon becomes fixed. A friendly intercourse between the subjects of neighbouring states, grow into familiar habits; old friendships are forgotten by individuals; and the trade can never be recovered. Our continental wars in Europe, have absolutely produced these very disagreeable effects, and France, in consequence, robbed us of great part of our trade to Spain, and to Turkey.

key, when we patched up the peace, or rather truce, of *Aix-la-Chappelle*, in 1748. Still our commerce with the colonies increased rapidly, which enabled us to enter into a new war with France, on account of our North American possessions, in 1756. Into that war we entered on the most honourable and justifiable principles of any the nation has ever yet been engaged. Still the old infatuation dragged us over into Flanders and Germany, where we had no more business to involve ourselves, than we should have now to join the Emperor against the Turks. The war was carried on with success in all quarters of the world, and ended in our favour; but it left us so much in debt, as to induce the ministers of the day, to look towards America for assistance to enable them to pay the interest of that money which had been spent in the quarrel. The demand, or rather the manner in which it was made, not being relished there, it begat altercation, and that led to war and confusion. To avoid us at sea, and to meet us on shore at a distance from our own home, had ever been the policy of France. She soon discovered that the quarrel into which we were now about to involve ourselves with the colonies, would suspend our commerce, increase our national debt, and weaken our power in every part of the world. She therefore, most politically on her side, fomented the dispute, by first promising, and then sending assistance to the weaker party. That this nation had

had much to lose, and nothing, not even honour, to gain, by this unnatural contest, every body saw but ourselves; and we blindly and madly proceeded from one false step to another, until we found ourselves fighting for our last stake of commercial influence, even with our own children, when in 1778, France shook off the mask, by throwing her whole weight into the scale of America. Our situation from that moment, was exactly similar with that of an individual, who, possessing a clear income of five thousand pounds a year, should sit down with a sharper not worth a groat, and after having lost a stake or two, find himself so heated by the infatuation of gambling, as to proceed on to the loss of his whole fortune, originally staked against nothing.

At the close of this war, as at the end of all others, the additional debt into which we had thus wantonly involved ourselves, is not the greatest of our evils. By the succession war, and logwood war, we had removed the mist of prejudice from before the eyes of Spain, and made her discover not only a friend in France, but also a powerful commercial neighbour, by whom she could be supplied with facility and certainty, with most, if not all, the manufactures that she formerly took from her haughty and quarrelsome correspondent, England. Religious prejudices had nothing to do with this: she neither had complained that the manu-
factures

factures which she formerly took of the English, were manufactured by heretical or sacrilegious hands ; nor does she now boast, that French wares are the better for being wrought by Catholics. Commerce is of no religion ; necessity flies to her for aid, and mutual conveniency continues the intercourse. Free as air, she ranges the world at large ; eats pork with a Christian, puppy-dog with a Chinese, and camel's flesh with a Turk ; a sworn enemy to war, has been the greatest civilizer of mankind, and is the true citizen of the world. She continues still to hover over the British Isles, as a land of liberty, and prays for peace, that she may accompany it with plenty,

Our continental wars have always been of long duration, and in their consequences drained us both of men and money. A land army cannot exist, if not paid monthly, or oftener ; and on this account, millions of English money were sent into Germany in the three former wars, never to return. The late war on the continent of America, has been productive of consequences still more dreadful. The Americans were the offspring of our own bowels, had been trained up in a love to our religion, language, laws, habits, customs, manners, and prejudices ; formidable barriers these to break through ; yet our evil genius has discovered the means of severing them from us for ever. At the moment they were compelled to a declaration of independence,

independence, or submit to terms which to them appeared worse than death, the produce of the whole Thirteen States stood pledged for more than its value for eighteen months to come, in debts from individuals to individuals, for the manufactures of this country. Their non-importation law put a stop to our export trade with them; and their declaration of independence, and war in consequence, liquidated, or spunged, away their former commercial obligations to the English merchants. This compelled them to open a new trade with their new allies, the French. French fleets filled their harbours, and French armies defended their provinces: and whilst we were transmitting millions on millions of our money, to pay our army kept in their country, for no other purpose than by their ravages, to compel them to a wider alienation of their affections from us, it supplied them with current money to open a commerce with their defenders, and our mortal enemies and rivals in trade, the French; insomuch, that at the end of the war, we stand one hundred millions more in debt, than at its commencement; have removed their former prejudices in favour of English faith, English friendship, and English commerce; part of which is transferred to the French, and the rest scattered all over the world; for our declaration of their independence, has laid open all the ports thereof to them. Their own nominal debt of paper dollars, which served their purpose

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to collect provisions and stores, to support their army during the war, has sunk gradually, and by regular depreciations, into oblivion; and they begin the world anew, with liberty for the foundation, and a circulating stock of more than four millions of gold and silver, imported and spent amongst them, by English and French fleets and armies.—Such have been the fatal effects of continental wars, to this misruled and misguided country.

If it shall be our chance to war soon again, I hope to God that we shall try our fortune for once, in a sea war only, and for the following reasons.

Because, A naval force is the natural and only safe mode of arming the nation in its own defence: Nor would two hundred sail of the line, with the necessary compliment of frigates, be so dangerous an instrument of power in the hands of the crown, or of influence in the hands of the ministry, as an army of twenty thousand regulars.

Because, The whole of the provision used by our ships of war, at home and abroad, is the produce and manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland: And because, when the ships companies are paid their wages, it is always in some harbour in the kingdom, where the money is instantly sent back by those brave and generous fellows into circulation,

culatation, amongst their fellow subjects of all trades, callings, and professions ; a circumstance in itself alone, of sufficient consequence to give the preference to a naval war.

Because, Having no considerable drafts to make, of men to support an army acting abroad on a continent, the corps of militia might be kept full with ease : And because a seafaring war would cause all, or most of the money, spent in consequence, to circulate at home amongst ourselves, instead of being spent amongst strangers.

Because, The House of Bourbon united, would not be found an over match for us in such a contest : And because experience has shewn, that until their trade and commerce has been almost annihilated, by the superior gallantry of our seamen, they never have consented to make peace. Had not Lord Rodney drubbed them in the west, and Lord Howe foiled and shamed them in the Straits, Gibraltar and Jamaica must have fallen a sacrifice to the cursed American continental war.

Because, We have no more money to spend wantonly, and have some honour to recover, which never can be atchieved by a continental war.

Because, That the French are so sensible of all this, that even now they are preparing under hand,

hand, to strengthen themselves so as to continue the continental confusions in Asia.

Because, That though Canada, Nova-Scotia, Hallifax, and all their dependencies, are not now, nor ever will be, to this nation, worth one half million annually, the French will do all they can to draw us once more there to defend them on shore, in the hope of running your national debt up to three hundred millions.

Because, We have never yet tried the experiment of a pure, unadulterated naval war: though every cool and thinking man in the nation, whether patriots or others, is, and always has been, of opinion, that it is the only way by which we can hold our present rank as one of the first powers in Europe.

Because, The rage for encampments and military exhibitions, has drawn off the minds of the country people from their natural and proper occupations, and made it necessary to send recruiting serjeants and corporals, into every hole and corner of the united kingdom, to drag men from the plough, the mills, the forges, and the looms, to recruit a continental army, to the destruction of public security, and private happiness.

Because,

Because, The four last impolitic continental wars, have destroyed a million and a half of our best men ; left unprovided and half starving, half the number of widows, and sent full as many fine young girls to lead apes, or to patrol the streets and alleys of London, and other great cities, in quest of a miserable existence, which is worse than the other ; and impiously offered defiance to the laws of God and nature, by stopping, so far as the evil extends, the propagation of mankind.

Because, The same impolitic passion for foreign conquests, hath left the nation without much foreign territory, and that reduced to a very precarious tenor.

Because, Without a very close attention in future, to the first principles of commerce, agriculture and manufactures, so as to induce a great and regular exportation of the proceeds of both, we shall soon, from our follies and factional squabbles about power, sink in the eyes of all the world, into as contemptible a condition as the Dutch Republic, without their excuse, having the means of salvation fully in our own power.

Because, The nation stands pledged for a regular payment of the interest of two hundred and forty millions of pounds sterling, on the punctuality and half yearly performance of which, hangs the

the national honour, national credit, and absolute salvation:

Because, We have the power of doing so yet in our own hands: And because, to neglect pursuing such honest and fair means, to extricate ourselves from the difficulties brought on by our follies and extravagance, will be forfeiting to all eternity, the honest name of Englishmen, and sneaking into a bankruptcy like a nation of paltry swindlers.

P A R T IV.

WE have seen that from the national improvements in agriculture, our people have been encouraged and supported, in establishing and extending innumerable branches of home wrought manufactures; not only from the staple articles of our own internal productions, which are prodigious and, by good management, inexhaustible, but also from raw materials of great value and use, imported from abroad. Liberty is the root, agriculture the trunk, manufactures the limbs, general commerce the branches, unbounded credit the blossoms, and naval power the fruit, of that prodigious tree, under whose friendly shade, the English name and glory, has spread itself into every region and corner of the earth.

A furious storm arose in the west, which shook some of the branches, and they have dropped off from the trunk; yet enough remain, which, with proper care, will bring forth new blossoms, and ripen into more solid and durable fruit; if the manure arising from the remaining branches, is but properly applied to the nourishment of the shaken, but not decayed, or falling, trunk.

Our foreign commerce may be said to have been in its infancy at the accession of William III. since when, it has supported the nation through four long, expensive, and bloody continental wars, each of which, on an average, cost us sixty millions of money more than we were worth, besides as much more for interest already paid; and the aggregate sum total of debt yet remaining against us, will demand, for years to come, nine millions more, exclusive of our peace establishment, or current expence of government, which has been estimated at three millions five hundred thousand pounds. These disagreeable recapitulations of what we owe, and what we must pay, are not intended to intimidate, but to inspire: They are collected and brought to one point of view, to prove what, with spirit and good management, we may do, by shewing what has already been done.

The colonies doing without our government, goes no way to prove that they can do without our manufactures.

manufactures. It will require a long course of years before they will be able to supply themselves in any degree with woollen goods; cotton goods, hardware, labouring tools of all sorts, and fifty other articles of our home made manufactures, absolutely necessary to them, which they can neither make themselves, nor obtain of other nations, on terms nearly so reasonable. The faster they multiply, the better for us; their demands for our goods, and ability to pay for them, will increase in proportion. If we have lost them by our folly, the separation has been complete, and thereby the cause of future quarrel done away for ever. Circumstance and situation, made it impossible for this nation to have held them much longer with chains forged in so tumultuous a smithy as our House of Commons, where the *outs* and *ins* are so nearly equal, and the *outs* always for them. Love nor gratitude, could not bind them to us for ever; so shall not their hatred or revenge, become eternal. There were advantages accruing to them from the union, which, when they become cool, they will recollect; if not with gratitude, at least with a degree of kindness, that will serve to cement the friendship which mutual necessity, and mutual interest, are now forming. Though we could not live cordially together under the same roof, we may, as branches of the same family, become very good friends at a distance, which we see is almost always the case in private families. With Englishmen,
Americans

Americans are no longer rebels; with Americans, Englishmen are no longer tyrants. On the west side the Atlantic, may they join hands, and dance round the liberty tree; and on the east side, quaff a potation to Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. Kings and Ministers die—But liberty in England and America, let us hope may be immortal.

Though the injudicious and impolitic wars which the evil genius of England, in the shape of France, has often drawn us into, have frequently checked, and more than once turned the channel of foreign commerce against us, still there is sufficient remaining, if we support it by our natural arms, a naval power. Innumerable are the proofs which I could produce in support of this assertion, drawn from all quarters of the globe; but I have already exceeded the bounds which I at first prescribed to myself, and have our East India Commerce yet untouched.

The acknowledgement of the Independence of America, and universal free trade to Ireland, may induce many persons to imagine, that the time is come when England should lay open to all her subjects, the trade to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. The idea is in general erroneous, and with respect to Great Britain and Ireland, (considering their interests as one, and I know not how to separate them,) pernicious and destructive. I have said much on that subject in the Free Merch-

ant's Letters, which I challenge any man in the world to refute, so shall pass it by here.

As the raw materials for our very extensive cotton and silk manufactories, are imported from abroad, and the commercial barriers formerly erected by this nation, have been thrown down and levelled with the earth, all the advantage which our manufactures can possibly have over those of other nations, must arise from our being able to import the necessary raw materials, and serving them to our workmen, at cheaper rates than their rivals in other nations can obtain them.

The field before me is so boundlessly extensive, and our possessions in the East Indies, capable of furnishing to this nation, on low and advantageous terms, such vast variety of raw articles for our manufactures, that was I to enter into them at large, it would swell this pamphlet into a large volume. I shall therefore confine myself to speaking on four subjects only,—an unexpensive addition to our national naval force;—the importation of raw silk from Bengal and China;—a better mode of supplying ourselves, the people in Ireland, and even selling to the Americans all sorts of tea, cheaper than they can fetch it from China for themselves;—and a plan for the importation of cotton from Bombay, in such quantities, as to reduce the price of that valuable commodity, forty per

per cent. below its present market price to our manufacturers. If the East India Company's managers think otherways, they will refute my arguments; if not, they must improve on them, or other companies and other nations will.

At the commencement of the war in 1756, this nation had then in India four sail of the line, and two flag officers, Admiral Watson, and the present Sir George Pocock. During that war our force was increased, under the above officers, and their successors in command, from time to time, by additional ships, until we had sixteen sail of the line in India. The French disputed the command of the sea with us in that quarter of the globe, during three years of that war. Three furious actions were fought, in which *victory* remained to us, from keeping the sea longer than the enemy; for not a ship was taken, burnt, or sunk, on either side. The *Bien Aime*, indeed, one of the French ships, proved so leaky, after the second action, as to make it necessary to run her on shore, and this was the only loss sustained in consequence of the actions; Yet the French never had, at any one time, more than *six* sail of their King's line of battle ships in India during the war; all their others were their India Company's ships, half manned with black or India born seamen. Though I have noticed this circumstance in a former publication, I thought it of sufficient magnitude to repeat it here once again.

In the year 1760, Pondicherry fell into our hands. If from that time, or even from the former peace of Paris in 1763, our East India Company had been compelled to pierce their new built ships for carrying fifty 18, 12, and 6 pounder guns, (and they are of dimensions sufficient to bear them,) the following good consequences would have ensued. At the commencement of the late war, there was but one English ship of the line in India, the Rippon, of 60 guns; and for a considerable time after, the ministry could spare no other reinforcement, than the Asia of 64 guns. Before Admiral Hughes arrived with four sail of the line, and two fifties, the French had been driven from the coast of Malabar, and Bay of Bengal, to the Islands of Mauritius and Bourbon: And had our East India-men been but properly armed, Sir Edward Hughes could have taken as many of them into the King's service occasionally, as would have kept his squadron always superior to any force the French could have sent from their Islands. But the French observing our embarrassments at home, and the small force Sir Edward had under his command in India, dispatched *D'Orviers* first, and *Suffrein* afterwards, and recommenced the war in India with advantage; because that they knew that Sir Edward Hughes could not be supplied with more ships from Europe, until it should become too late. And I most positively affirm, that had our East India ships been pierced and armed, as the French or as the Dutch

East India ships always have been in time of war, the French would not have appeared again in the Indian seas, after the capture of Pondicherry in October 1778. What an immense difference that would have caused in our favour, in carrying on of the war in Europe, and the advantage it would have continued to us against Hyder Ally, on the coast of Coromandel, who, in that case, could have had no hope of assistance from the French, I shall leave others to determine.

The East India Company have now, and at all times, from eighty to ninety sail of noble ships in their service, or building, to supply the place of those which have run out their four voyages. Generally speaking, they may be said to be divided into four fleets, one fourth part, or twenty ships, at home, one fourth outward bound, another in India, and another on their way home. This regular arrangement may perhaps, in some instances, be deviated from; but no man will deny, that the Company have in their employ, or at their command, the number of ships which I mention; nor will any man affirm, that there is now in the service, a single ship twenty years old; of course, had the ships which have been built since the year 1763, been pierced for to carry fifty guns, the state would not have felt the distress it did for want of an additional marine force in the late war. I will apply it only in one more instance, and then proceed to other matters.

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In the last year of the late war, the efforts of the House of Bourbon in Europe, were contracted to a small focus, and directed to one point, the siege of Gibraltar. The fate of that garrison was, by all Europe, considered as the circumstance on which the whole honour of the war would turn between the contending parties. But England had more than honour at stake. When the grand fleet failed to the relief of Gibraltar, it was necessary that every ship that the nation could collect, should accompany Lord Howe, to give him even a chance of being within ten capital ships, as powerful as the combined fleet of France and Spain, laid directly in his way, with the declared intention of opposing his passage to the relief of the garrison; and our whole coast, from Flamborough-head, in Yorkshire, to the land's end in Cornwall, as well as our Baltic, coasting, and foreign trading ships and vessels, were left exposed to the insults and depredations of fourteen sail of the line, and seven frigates, then equipped and lying ready in the Texel. Had the Dutch fleet come out soon after Lord Howe had failed with the grand fleet for the Straits, (and why they did not I have yet to learn,) with only two regiments of soldiers on board their ships of war, and come to anchor off the Humber, the Thames, the Isle of Wight, or in Torbay Road, or only have hovered about those places for three weeks or a month, without even firing a shot, or attempting to land a single man, our terror would have been general throughout the nation,

nation, our losses at sea considerable, our expences on shore immense, and our disgrace immortal. I know not what others feel at recollecting such our very recent defenceless situation, but there is something trickling down my cheek at the very idea, that poor distracted old England has so lately been left exposed to the chance of such dire dishonour from such an enemy, and that to save to a body of merchants, who can well spare it, a few thousands per annum: for had the Indiamen then at home, been but properly armed, there were of them then on float, more than sufficient to have blocked up the Dutch fleet in the Texel. At such a time, with our all at stake, the embargo which must from necessity, have been laid on the tonnage in all our eastern and southern ports, would have furnished hands sufficient to have manned them.

As some such plan for strengthening our naval power, may, at so little waste of timber or money, be carried into execution by degrees, and, as it were, insensibly, surely no private interests will prevent its being adopted in future.

Every branch of the silk manufacture in this kingdom, has increased extremely within these last thirty years. Having no raw silk of our own produce, we have been obliged to import it from several ports of Spain, Italy, the Levant, from Bengal, and From China. Prior to the year 1757, sil-

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ver was exported from home to pay for it at the two last places, and the quantity imported was consequently much limited. The whole annual quantity did not, at that period, exceed two to three hundred thousand pounds at most. Since we have been in possession of the Bengal provinces, it has increased gradually, insomuch, that the East India Company import from Bengal only, to the amount of seven hundred thousand pounds in filature, and the common sorts of raw silk; and from both places, their amount imports, *communibus annis*, falls little short of a million sterling.

It is the staple articles of a nation's own produce in raw materials, that can be said to be so far safe, as to depend on her attention to, and care of, her agriculture; such in England are our woollen and leather branches of trade. Our silk and cotton manufactures, which are prodigious, and employ an immense number of hands, who consume the produce of the earth, and keep the ploughs going, depending on the importation of their raw materials from abroad, are consequently subject to various untoward accidents; and such branches of the commerce of all countries, always must ebb and flow, as accidents interpose, or the fortune of war shall direct. The Portugeze, who formerly supplied all the world with the rich spices, are now obliged to take what they want for themselves from the Dutch. The loss of the Levant trade has
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been much complained of in England. The French have, no doubt, robbed us of part in the manner above noted; but much of the raw silk trade has been transferred to Bengal, greatly to our advantage, and not lost. Such fluctuations must forever attend a commerce, dependant on external contingencies. At the late peace, our fur trade, our cotton trade, and our gum trade, received severe shocks, but have not by any means been annihilated. Such revolutions it is the nature of human affairs to bring about. Future ages shall see the Americans west of the Appalachian mountains, on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, shipping off their furs to Japan and to China; and perhaps some persons now alive may hear of their having stripped Spain of both the Floridas, of the logwood shores in the Bays of Campechy and Honduras, and become very troublesome to them on the Isthmus of Darien, from Porto Bello to Panama. When the passion of revenge, and not sound policy, impels a nation to war, which was the case with Spain in her late quarrel with us, the consequences are soon after known. Twenty years ago, it was in the power of England, to have left the Americans their present friends, the French, *a cruel thorn in their side*, in a semicircle, from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, to the mouth of the river Mississipi. Their then enmity would have been kept up, and secured the allegiance of the former to the Crown of Great Britain. But man is prone
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to look forward, to act on present ideas, and draw but little advantage from past experience. Nations do the same; or we should not, in our senates, spend the time in wrangling, whilst we ought to debate. Bengal is an inexhaustible mine of silk, and other raw materials, with which to supply the manufacturing hands of this country.

Tea, the introduction of which into general use, was long opposed, has now found its way into every cottage in the kingdom, and in some degree, banished the pernicious custom of dram-drinking from amongst the lower order of women. At worst, it is an elegant and innocent luxury, and one of the most productive articles of excise. The taxes levied on it and its concomitant, sugar, may be said to be optional contributions to the state from individuals, and not vexatious, or pernicious taxations. Whilst our common people fancy that they can afford to use tea and sugar, why should they not enjoy them? Neither are pernicious to health, or corruptors of morals: on the reverse, I believe that the general use of tea which now prevails, has contributed much to the refinement of the manners of the middle and lower orders of the people. One fact I venture to affirm without fear of contradiction from our naval officers; it is become an article of sea store with our common seamen; and in many of their chests are found a small tea-kettle, as a substitute for the tin pot to heat *Flip*; perhaps
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it may serve the purpose of both, but a little tea, when the brave and honest fellows can get it, is very refreshing, very acceptable, and I believe as wholesome as the other.

It is to be lamented that an article so innocent in itself, and so beneficial to the state, should drain the kingdom, as it most certainly does, of half a million a year in ready money. *Tea*, such as the middle and lower orders of our people use, is so extremely cheap at China, that the Portuguese, French, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, and of late even the Emperor's ships, under the conduct of *Mr. Bolts*, receive on board at Canton in China, immense quantities ready packed, with the declared purpose of selling of it to the English smugglers, for which they are paid in good guineas. I have heard an English officer, who returned from China in a French ship, declare, that having lent to the second captain of the French ship some money at China, which he laid out in boxes of tea, the captain sold them on the coast of France to an English cutter, for *seventy per cent.* and repaid him his money in English guineas, before that he landed at Port *L'Orient*. But this is a fact too well known to need proofs. Even that great and able financier, Lord North, is well acquainted with every circumstance relative to it, but hitherto has not been able to devise the means of putting a stop to it. One half of our people pay to govern-

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ment half a million annually for permission to drink tea, and the other half send an equal sum abroad to foreign powers for the same privilege.—Such are the effects of high duties on very portable articles. Drawbacks on customs and excise, are pernicious and dangerous things; they are rods contrived to whip the hand of the granter. Whether a tea tax on houses, in proportion to their quarterly or annual rent, levied on the occupier for permission to drink tea, would answer the purpose, I know not. It is a matter of vast magnitude, and worthy the consideration of a Committee of the House of Commons, the finance Minister, and the Cabinet Council.

The Dutch Company exist not by their trade to India, but by the remittance of the balance of their estate in India, in proper articles of Asiatic merchandize, to Europe for sale; just as a gentleman who has an estate in Jamaica, lives in England on the produce of his sugars sent home by his steward.

At Batavia, the Dutch load four very large ships annually with block tin, pepper, spices, and Japan copper, and send them to China, where they are loaded with teas, of the second and third sorts, and sail directly for Amsterdam, Rotterdam, or Middleburgh in Zealand, from whence more than half of their cargoes of tea, are in the most open and barefaced manner, loaded by English smugglers,

lers, and run into England in dark nights, along the whole of our north and east coasts, and for which the Dutch constantly receive every year, from two to three hundred thousand English guineas.

We have the means in our hands, of sending goods from Bengal, and other parts of India, to China, sufficient to load as much tea as we want; and our Company would be able to sell it to the Americans, to the Irish, and to our own people, remarkably cheap, and yet gain very handsomely by it. But whilst by high duties on one side the Island, and the pernicious drawbacks on the other, smuggling remains so beneficial a traffic to the Dutch, and to our own unfair dealers, all plans of mercantile economy, in the article of tea, I much fear must become visionary.

We may perhaps succeed better with our cotton plan—Let us try.

It is matter of curious speculation to observe, the sudden changes and quick fluctuations, in the manners, habits, and dress, of a busy, active, commercial people, unfettered by religious prejudices, and in possession of civil liberty. Forty or fifty years ago, a journey to London from Cumberland or Cornwall, required as much preparation and resolution, as it does now to undertake a trip to the continent. In those days, the

wives

wives and daughters of our middling merchants, shop-keepers, manufacturers, and farmers, were clad in felt hats, some of them high crowned, scarlet cloaks, stuff gowns, linsley woolsey or flannel petticoats, worsted stockings, and leather shoes. If they had any wrought silk about them, it was a plain ribbon or two, pinned round a linen cap; or cotton, it was in garters, interwoven with love mottos. They valued themselves on wearing the home wrought woollen manufactures of their own country, as much almost as their great great grandmothers did in the days of Elizabeth, when a flock bed, sheets of sail cloth, and a dowlas smock, were deemed luxuries even at court.

See the same orders of the people now, at church, in the fields, at the play-house, or vauxhall, elegantly decorated in gauze caps, interwoven with several yards of fine wrought ribbon; silk cloaks, which cost more than their mother's whole covering did in 1740; printed cotton gown, petticoat the same, or of fine linen, cotton stockings, and calimanco shoes.—What a change! And this we owe, in the first instance, to the bounty allowed on the exportation of corn, which added a new pair of wings to our foreign commerce, and increased the silk and cotton manufactures to their present amazing height, not only for home consumption, but also for exportation; in both of which, more hands are now employed, than there were formerly in the
woollen

woollen trade. Those who imagine that this last has fallen off in consequence, are mistaken. The introduction of the new manufactures, have had a most excellent effect, in keeping down the prices of the raw materials of that national staple article, and enables our merchants to export immense quantities of woollen cloths to all parts of the world.—But wool is cheap, say the stock graziers—So it ought to be, my friends; for there are above a million of sheep slaughtered every year in the kingdom, and other animals in proportion, more than there was at the beginning of this century. I do therefore believe, that the number of our people have increased, which are, in effect, the riches and strength of a nation. Those who give credit to the doctrine of Doctor Price, will be reduced to believe the fact, or prove that we devour twice as much animal food as our grandfathers did. That we eat more in proportion, I believe to be true; the reason is, our brisk trade has enabled us so to do. Our guineas, and surloins of beef, are become common now in places, where, in the days of King William, they were deemed as much a phenomenon as a comet.

Raw silk and cotton wool, is as necessary to the support of our manufacturers, as cultivating the breed of our sheep is. They tend to increase and support, and not to destroy one another, as some superficial observers would induce us to believe. When we lose the first, the last will decline.

It

It therefore behoves our rulers, and their committees, to attend to the importation of raw silk and cotton wool, from our own provinces in the East Indies, where we can obtain any quantity we please, without the expence and danger of colonizing.

The best cotton wool imported into this country, and such as I am informed, is now much wanting for the new muslin manufacture, is called Cayanne, the present value of which is, per pound - - - 2 6

There is another sort, called St. Domingo cotton wool, inferior to the first, which is, per pound - - - 1 8

A third sort, called French or Martinico cotton wool, which is, per pound - - - 1 7

A fourth, called Smyrna or Turkey cotton wool, valued, per pound - - - 1 3

The joint value of the four sorts, appears to be 7s. for the four pounds, or the average price for one pound - - - 1 9

I have been informed, that the greatest part of the cotton wool which is imported into, and used, in this kingdom, is of a middling quality, between the

the first and fourth forts; and that the annual quantity imported, amounts to about 30,000 packs; each pack, on an average, contains 280 English pounds weight, and of course, the 30,000 packs jointly contain 8,400,000 pounds. This quantity, at 1s. 9d. per pound, the present price, stands the nation in 735,000*l*.

As I have taken the whole of my information, relative to the importation of cotton wool, and the quantity annually used in the nation, from others, *I do not pledge myself* on that part of the subject, to accuracy. It is sufficient that our merchants do import a large quantity of that raw material, that the cotton manufacture increases fast, and that it is of consequence to our general commerce, that due attention should be given to it. But *I do pledge myself* for the truth and accuracy of what follows, as the reasoning and remarks have been drawn from my own practice and experience, in the cotton wool commerce of Asia.

I do then affirm, that in the provinces of Surat and Broach, and other districts on both sides the Gulf of Cambay, now held by the East India Company, and which are under the government of Bombay, there does grow in vast abundance, and in greater quantities than to treble the amount of the quantity annually imported into Great Britain: And further, that when the laws shall be

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repealed,

repealed, which are now in force, prohibiting the importation of India cotton wool, the East India Company will have it in their power (and I shall prove it to be their interest) to import into this kingdom annually, as much cotton wool, commonly called Surat cotton, as shall reduce the average price of the above mentioned four sorts now imported, to 1s. or perhaps 10d. halfpenny per pound, which is just half of the average selling price of cotton wool now in England.

There is a sort of Surat cotton called *Amood*, whose fibre is finer, though I believe not so long as the Cayanne cotton; the latter also communicates to the touch, a more filky or oily sensation; but the Amood is naturally of a whiter hue, or complexion.

Gogo cotton may stand in the same degree of comparison with the St. Domingo, as the Amood does with the Cayanne, but on the whole is better cotton. The inferior sorts of Surat cotton, of which there are several sorts and degrees, is certainly better than the Martinico or Smyrna cotton; and was more care taken to pick it, and grind out the seeds, in the first instance, it would, on an average of its quality, be equal, if not superior, to the St. Domingo, or second sort. On the whole, it appears to me, that the Surat cotton is better calculated by nature to be spun, whether

whether by machine or by hand, into finer thread, than the West India or Turkey cotton.

As the importation of cotton wool from the East Indies, will be attended with many advantages to the East India Company in particular, as well as to the kingdom in general, I shall give my ideas on the subject at large. The first object is the reduction of cotton wool from its present average price of 1s. 9d. per pound, to 1s. per pound, or under. Secondly, to prove that it may be effected, without deranging, in the least degree, the present mode of conducting the East India Commerce. Lastly, that it may be so managed, as to be extremely beneficial to the stock holders, the freight owners, the captains and officers in the service at home, and to the conveniency of their servants abroad.

I must premise, that no objections will stand against my taking into my calculation, the whole quantity of the cotton wool now imported into England, from all parts of the world. No matter what proportion of that aggregate sum, the East India Company may at first be induced to import; the operation of reducing the selling price of cotton wool in this country, will commence: for if, in the first four years of their trying the experiment, their importation shall not equal the present importation, yet, in the following years, it will most likely come up to, if not exceed it. Their own

industry and exertions, must regulate their importation. For the general advantages proposed to arise therefrom, if I do not prove them, why I must sink down to a level with Mr. Edmund Burke, and other visionary schemers, or Jacks of all trades, who fancy that every thing may be learnt from books and theory, without practice.

It is very well known, that the East India Company's servants abroad, have no mode left them, whereby to transmit their private property to this country. The Company cannot admit of their paying money into their cash abroad, for bills on them at home, on any terms whatever; and the state have excluded them from lending it to foreign Companies, by a law of the land. What possible mode can be devised, better calculated for the purpose, than the increase of the Company's imports of raw materials, to be bought in India, with money supplied them by their servants abroad? I shall speak positively, for I challenge refutation. Let the sum of money which may be annually wanted, at Bombay or Surat, to provide by contract, the cotton intended to be shipped off at Bombay for England, amount to what it will, the Company's servants in Asia, together with the the free merchants, free mariners, executors to the estates of dead men, the attorneys or agents of widows, guardians of orphans, &c. &c. will supply it on the following terms:

They

They will pay in at Bombay, or Surat, to the Company's Governor and Council, the silver Bombay rupee, at the exchange value of two shillings and sixpence sterling, to be repaid them again in England at the expiration of two years, allowing them for the last year of the time, three per cent. interest for their money so advanced.

The money provided, now for the cotton. I bar all cavilling about quantity; because it cannot be understood, that I think it possible, or even prudent, at once, to stock the market with such a quantity of a raw material, from a new and unexpected quarter. Commence with two ships load the first year, and increase it gradually, as circumstances may offer, and prudence direct.

Having rested my argument on the quantity annually imported into England, I shall carry that idea quite through the whole of my estimation: but the intelligent reader will observe, that the advantages proposed to arise from the execution, can be but in proportion to the extent of that execution. I have only to prove, that the East India Company have it in their power to import into this kingdom by degrees, Surat cotton wool, of any given quantity, so as to sell it at 1s. per lb. deliverable at their warehouses in London.

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The quantity now imported from all parts of the world, on a rough estimation, amounts to 8,400,000 pounds weight of cotton, which is 3750 tons long weight, of 2240 English pounds to the ton; so that it will require sixteen of the Company's ships, to be annually employed to bring to England, this immense quantity of cotton; as it is well known, that on an average of their tonnage one with another, the Company's ships will not stow more than 230 to 240 tons of cotton wool, together with their necessary stores, water and provision, for six months; so that 3750 tons, divided equally on board sixteen of the Company's ships, gives to each 235 tons, within a small fraction of a ton. The Company's freight ships are never employed by them, for more than four voyages to India, except in extraordinary cases, when they are distressed for tonnage, or take them up to serve as transports: but as this seldom happens in times of peace, I will suppose that one twentieth part of the number of their freight ships, have run out their four voyages every year, which yet remain excellent good ships, not more than half worn, but from the standing rules of the service, are by them no more taken up. In war time, the owners sell them to tonnage jobbers, who freight them to government for ordnance ships, mast ships, &c. in peace, their value is reduced, being much too large for other parts of commerce; insomuch, that the hull and stores, are always sold for 1400 to 2000*l.* sterling.

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I am convinced by experience, that these old Indiamen (as they are called) after having had a complete and thorough repair in all their parts, their masts, yards, and weight of metal reduced, and their round houses taken off, would be very capable of making four voyages to Bombay for cotton, provided that they shall be compelled to leave England in the month of March, and to sail from Bombay, in the month of October following; which every seaman in the Company's service, well knows are the proper seasons for securing an easy, safe, and pleasant passage out and home, and give full time to load and unload at both places. Should four voyages for cotton be thought too much for the old Indiamen to perform, let them be changed every second year. There are of them sufficient in the service, to supply the rotation; and there is not a ship but what might perform two cotton voyages, after her four freight voyages were completed.

The captains of the Company's freight ships, often find it difficult to procure owners; because their new ships being now very dear, and always from twelve to fifteen years in running out their voyages, and having but four freights, it does not produce moderate interest on their capitals; but by this plan, four voyages more in the service will be secured to them, with a very good freight: The present objections to become owners, will be effectually removed.

When

When the four voyages of the ship are run out, the captains are obliged to stay at home until a new ship can be built, which is often very inconvenient to their affairs, and a great waste of time : but the new ship may as well be built in their absence, and when she is ready, a master will never be wanting to command the cotton ship. By taking up four old ships the first year, for this new cotton trade, and four more every succeeding year, in four years time, the whole tonnage will be provided ; and as at the end of that time, the first four ships would have run their four cotton trips, they would be succeeded by four others, and so on *ad infinitum*.

It may be the opinion of some good seamen, that a voyage to Bombay, and home, cannot, with certainty be performed, so as that the ship may be ready to enter on her second voyage by the first of April. To this I shall only observe, that it will be but matter of opinion on both sides : but if a privilege of 600*l*. for the voyage, to the captain, was to be offered to be paid if he succeeded, and only 300*l*. if he did not, the voyage would be completed within my proposed time, or I am much mistaken. At all events, should the rotation ships not arrive in time, four additional ones might be kept ready to supply deficiencies, which would always be to be had, amongst the same cast tonnage of the Company,

Having

Having shewn that ships, money, and men, may be had for the plan, without causing the minutest alteration in the Company's present mode of conducting their affairs, I proceed to consider the provision of the cotton.

It may be said that whereas there is a constant and regular demand for Surat cotton, for the Muscat, Mocha, Malabar, Bengal, and China markets, so unexpected a demand as that of 2,100,000 pounds of cotton, which is the quarter part of our annual importation, and necessary to load the first four ships, would cause a very great advance in the price of Surat cotton. I shall admit the fact, merely that I may not run this outline work into too great length, and make allowance for it in the purchase price at the same time. I could prove, that the frequent failures of markets at the above mentioned five Asiatic ports, give great checks to the cultivation of the cotton shrub in the provinces about Surat, insomuch, that the cotton trade at that great mart, is a commerce of speculation, rather than of certainty. The prices fluctuate so extremely, that every three or four years, numbers of merchants are ruined, by having bought up too much, and the cultivation is in consequence stopped. *On the reverse, a constant, certain, regular

* On the Malabar coast, Bengal, and China, they have cotton of their own growth; of course the demand for foreign cotton, depends on the goodness or badness of their own crops. England cultivates no cotton; her demand would in consequence be more certain and regular.

demand,

demand, would induce more cultivation, and gradually supply all that we want for the English market, without affecting the present price in any degree at Surat. Such is the nature of all staple commerce. If demands for the linen of Ireland and Scotland, and the woollen of England, was to increase one twentieth part, or five in the hundred, annually, at the end of twenty years, the quantity made would be doubled, without affecting the price in the least. Indeed I could produce instances to prove, that such regular increasing demands, for the real staple articles of a well regulated nation, cause them to fall in their real value. Though the constant decrease in the value of silver and gold, gives it a different appearance, to those whose opinions are governed by the denomination of current specie only.

Mr. Hornby, Governor of Bombay, has served the Company forty-two years. I would pledge myself, that that honest man would execute every part of the plan, which depended on the providing the money and the cotton; orders so to do, and ships to bring it home, must be sent from hence. And as the plan tends to enlarge the influence *within the bar*, and the interests *without the bar*, and also will operate to the owners interest, the ships husbands interest, the captains interest, and the officers interest, and not incommode one of the lowest clerks in the lowest offices about the
India

India House, I do hope that a scheme for the public good, will not be opposed at the east end of the town.

It may be necessary, in order to bring my cotton plan into one point of view, to give a sketch of the invoice from Bombay, the account sales in Europe, and from both, state the probable advantages which may arise from the adoption of it.

Invoice of sundry parcels of Surat Cotton, bought on account of the East India Company.

Bom. Rs. Bom. Rs.

Amood cotton, equal to
muster No. I. sent from
Europe, called Cayanne
cotton wool.

2,100,000 lb. or 2800

Surat candys, of

750 lb. each, at 90

rupees per candy -

2,52,000

Broach cotton, equal to

muster No. II. called St.

Domingo cotton wool.

2,100,000 lb. or 2800

Surat candys, of

750 lb. each, at 80

rupees per candy -

2,24,000

4,76,000

| | Bom. R. | Bom. R. |
|--|------------|----------|
| Brought over | — | 4,76,000 |
| Gogo cotton, equal to muster No. III. called Martinico, or French cotton wool. | | |
| 2,100,000 lb. or 2800 | | |
| Surat candys, of | | |
| 750 lb. each, at 70 | | |
| rupees per candy - | 1,96,000 | |
| Jumbosseer cotton, equal to muster No. IV. called Smyrna, or Turkey cot- ton wool. | | |
| 2,100,000 lb. or 2800 | | |
| Surat candys, of | | |
| 750 lb. each, at 66 | | |
| rupees per candy - | 1,82,000 | |
| | | 3,78,000 |
| | First cost | 8,54,000 |
| <i>Charges Merchandize.</i> | | |
| Expences allowed the con- tractors for the cotton, for having packed the whole quantity into bales of 280 lb. each bale, in- stead of 375 lb. which has been the custom of India, and which makes a difference of 7600 packs, at 3 rupees per pack | — — | 22,800 |

| | Bom. Rs. | Bom. Rs. |
|--|----------|----------|
| Brought over | — | 22,800 |
| Freight from Surat to Bombay, at 2 rupees per pack, on 30,000 packs | — | 60,000 |

To expence of landing,
housing, repacking, re-
fcrewing, and reshipping,
at Bombay for Europe,
with every petty inci-
dental charge included,
rated very liberally at 3
rupees each pack — 90,000

Confolage or commiffion
on the first cost, allowed
to be charged, and di-
vided amongst the Com-
pany's fervants at this
fettlement, as encou-
ragement to them, for
feeing that the cotton is
very clean, and well
packed, 5 per centum,
which on 8,54,000 Rs.
the first cost, is — — 42,700

2,15,500

Bombay Cur. Rs. 10,69,500

£. s. d.

N. B. For the above sum
of rupees, we have
drawn bills agreeable to
order, on the Company,
payable in Europe, at
730 days, or two years
after date, allowing an
interest of 3 per cent. for
the last year, which, at
the exchange of 2s. 6d.
for the Bombay rupee,
comes to pounds sterling

Principal 133,687 10 0

One years Interest 4,010 12 6

 £.137,698 2 6

Bombay Castle, in the year of our Lord
(Signed)

*London. Account Sales of 30,000 Packs of Surat Cotton
Wool, imported this year on sixteen sail of the East
India Company's ships, each bale containing 280
English pounds, lotted in equal proportions of the
four different sorts, and sold on an average, at 1s.
per pound.*

£. s. d.

Neat weight 8,400,000 lb. 420,000 0 0

Charges

(III)

| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|-----------------------------|----|----|----|---------|----|----|
| Brought over | | | | 420,000 | 0 | 0 |
| <i>Charges merchandize,</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>on importation.</i> | | | | | | |

Not well knowing to what amount this article may run, an allowance of 5 per cent. on the gross sales will I believe be sufficient — 21,000 0 0

Freight, allowing the Company's ships to be rated at 600 tons each ship, on an average of the whole service, and stating of 20*l.* per ton, to Bombay only, as a fair medium of freight, the freight of 16 ships comes to 192,000 0 0

213,000 0 0

| | £. | s. | d. | £. | s. | d. |
|--|---------|----|----|---------|----|----|
| Brought over | 213,000 | 0 | 0 | 420,000 | 0 | 0 |
| To the above charges must be added the gross amount purchase at Bombay — | 137,698 | 2 | 6 | 350,698 | 2 | 6 |

| | | | | | |
|--|---|---|-----------|----|---|
| Which being deducted from the gross sales at home, leaves a profit to the Company of — | — | — | £. 69,301 | 17 | 6 |
|--|---|---|-----------|----|---|

A sum more than equal to a dividend of 8 per cent. on their original capital stock of 3,200,000*l.* for three months of the year, accumulated without an advance of one shilling of their own money, or giving interruption to any other part of their current business.

I am aware that it will be observed, that I have tied down the ships to the performance of their voyages exactly in one year, with the allowance of 1000*l.* per month for each ship, for that year only, but made no consideration for demurrage, should they

they fail to perform the voyage within the time, nor any consideration or deduction, for prompt payment, which the Company allow on the receipt of money at all their sales. To the first I answer, that I have proposed a mode to furnish the Company with 9600 tons of shipping, on which they may export merchandize, troops, marine stores, military stores, mariners for their marine at Bombay, provisions, and every thing else they want for their settlements on that side of India, every year, for which tonnage, if they will but give the usual credit at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ per ton, 48,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ is furnished, and that sum they may divide amongst the owners, as demurrage, if they please. To the second I say, that having the use of their servants' money for two years, paying only 3 per cent. interest, which interest has been already allowed in account, they will have full time to realize the proceeds of the cotton, without the usual deductions for prompt payments.

Once more I will recapitulate the solid advantages which the adoption of my plan will in time produce.

I have taken my information from very good authority, that there is imported into this nation, 30,000 packs of cotton wool annually, containing 8,400,000 lb. the

H

average

average price of which is now $\text{£. } 5. 2. 1$
 1s. 9d. per lb. and of course stands
 the wholesale merchants in — $730,000 \text{ } 0 \text{ } 0$
 I have shewn that by degrees, the
 East India Company may deliver
 the same quantity of cotton to
 them, equally good, for — $420,000 \text{ } 0 \text{ } 0$
 Which will be a saving to the
 nation in the first instance, of the, —
 sum of * — $\text{£. } 315,000 \text{ } 0 \text{ } 0$

* There are some men whom I know, in public stations, whose
 ideas are so confined, as not to be able to comprehend a general
 calculation. The terms millions and thousands, and thousands of
 millions, puzzle them in such a manner, that what between conscious-
 ness of their own ignorance, and the fear of detection, they become
 so out of humour, and out of argument, as to have no resource left,
 but to say, in general terms, that they hate all innovation and altera-
 tion of old modes, in carrying on the Company's affairs. Left men
 of this stamp, who, having power, will keep it, though the Island
 was sinking into the sea, rather than quit to save their country,
 should be induced to throw the book away, because the calcula-
 tions have been made on a large and liberal scale, I will reduce it
 to milkwife arithmetic, for their ease and conveniency.

A pound of the *worst* sort of cotton wool sells now
 in London for — — —

A pound of the *best* sort may be bought at Surat,
 very highly rated, for — — —

Freight to Europe, very liberally paid, per lb. $0 \text{ } 4$

Charges merchandize, of every possible kind,
 commission, &c. &c. &c. per lb. — — — $0 \text{ } 3$

Neat proceeds per lb. $0 \text{ } 2$

N. B.

That the nation in general, the East India Company, their servants abroad, the ships owners, the captains, and every denomination of men who act under them, would benefit by such a plan, I have asserted; if there are objections which can be made to it, except that it would be injurious to the trade and navigation of our good friends the Americans, and their new allies, the French, I really shall be much obliged to such gentlemen as will point them out. The great breach made in the empire at the late peace, has deranged the whole of our foreign commerce. I think and say, because I have proved it in part, and if I had time and room, could do it in the whole, that our losses in the west, may be repaired by a due attention to our commerce in the east. If

N. B. After having allowed on the freight, and on the general and particular charges merchandize, full 25 per centum, above what they really ought to cost, and as well as buying the *best* cotton wool at Surat, and rating it at the *lowest* selling price in England, there remains a clear gain of 2d. per lb. or 70,000l. on the annual importation of 16 ships cargoes, which will be a profit to the Company themselves of 4375l. per ship. The small difference in the general and particular estimates, is not worth observing, having used round numbers in both: but it may be worth observing, that on the gentleman from whom I had my information, saying that the price of cotton wool was now high, I sunk on the general average price of the day, the sum of two-pence halfpenny the pound, which, on the whole quantity, is a sum equal to 87,500l. sterling.—If here are not arguments enough, general and particular, to rouse some men from their slumbers, I have done with them.

the Committee would seek for our lost gum trade on the east side of Africa, in the Gulf of Mocha, at the ports of Aden and Muscat, and in the Gulf of Persia; for our lost cotton trade, at Surat, Broach, and Cambay; for the dying woods (which we must have) along the Malabar and the Coromandel coasts; at Bengal, for as much raw silk as we want of its kind; and at the same place, to the improving our exclusive right to the valuable articles of salt petre and opium, which, under proper management, may be made to produce enough to pay for ten ships load of tea at China annually, as well as for the present quantity of raw silk imported from that country into this. Such enquiries, and such investigations, would do honour to a body of mercantile senators.—The other mode may do them credit too;—but I hope rather in Spain than Great Britain.

P A R T V.

IN the first report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, much information is to be met with, relative to the improper conduct of the Judges at Bengal, and in consequence, an act passed to limit their jurisdiction, and curtail their power.

At the meeting of the next Sessions of Parliament, the Committee was continued to sit; and as it was recommended from the throne, to their consideration, *how the British possessions in the East Indies, might be held with most advantage to this country*, it was natural for me, a merchant by profession, to purchase the following five reports, in the hope of finding some information, on the commerce of that country. I have been most cruelly disappointed, and spent my money very foolishly; for the Committee seem to have turned the whole force of their enquiry, in search of matter where-with to criminate Governor General Hastings. This pursuit was rather unlucky for their credit, as it was well known that their Chairman, and the scribe on whom they depended for a glossary to their researches, were the declared enemies of Mr. Hastings. Some barbarous insinuations in the body of the second report, and a confidential reference back to the first for evidence to support them, gave a different turn to the affair, than what the leaders expected. Their weak battery was attacked, and their fallacious insinuations were *detected* and *ridiculed*. The facts on which they were founded, proved to be erroneous, and their insinuations consequently false and groundless. This public detection inflamed the parties, and much time was wasted in culling evidence to support assertions, which having no foundation in truth, could not be supported. They grew ashamed of their evidence, so could
not

not produce it. The penman, Mr. Edmund Burke, finding that six reports had followed one another, without his having convinced a single person of Governor Hastings's criminality, grew absolutely furious. In the House he called him a *delinquent*, without producing a single act of delinquency against him.—Such unseemly, unmanly, ungentlemanlike conduct, towards an absent individual, may be sanctified by the custom of parliament, and their privileges are things so sacred, that I shall not meddle with them. However, the calling a man a delinquent, and the proving him to be such, are very different things. When Mr. Burke shall produce creditable evidence, to prove Governor Hastings a delinquent, in any one action of his life, I must submit; until he does, I cannot help thinking but that the orator has done more harm to his own character, by his inveterate enmity, than to the Governor General's honour.

Since I have discovered that Mr. Burke, notwithstanding the professions of candour which continually drop from his mouth, has lurking about his heart as much rancour and malice as any other man, I have been at some pains to study his character, from his writings, his speeches, and his actions. The result has been, that I have found him to be a mere manufacturer of words, inconsistent in his conduct, superficial in his knowledge, and what is worst of all, malicious in his disposition.

tion. I shall devote a few pages to prove these facts, in which I hope to succeed better than he has lately done, in his attempts to injure Mr. Hastings in the opinion of the public. If I do not, I must be content to be held in as much contempt as all men of candour and temper hold him, for his conduct to that much injured gentleman.

A very little time before the formation of the Select Committee, Mr. Burke made a long speech in Parliament, in order to introduce his plan of reform, for the civil list, &c. A few quotations from that famous speech, will shew how well Mr. Burke can reason, when his interests are not in danger, or his vicious passions put in motion. In such temper of mind, no man so capable of setting the House on a roar. But when his judgement is impeached, or his littlenesses detected, no man is so testy or so furious. The following quotation from the above speech, would do Mr. Burke great honour, if, by his late behaviour, he had not shewn, how very different a thing it is to make moral speeches, and to practise morality. "It is necessary, "in all matters of public complaint, where men "frequently feel right, and argue wrong, to separate prejudice from reason, and to be very "sure in attempting the redress of a grievance, "that we hit upon its real seat, and its true nature. Where there is an abuse in office, the first "thing that occurs in heat, is to censure the officer."

*"cer. Our natural disposition leads all our enquiries
 "rather to persons than to things. But this prejudice
 "is to be corrected by maturer thinking."*

I think so too ; and must lament the prejudices of that man, who can preach so well, and perform so ill. If Mr. Burke had found real matter of crimination against a man, in so high and responsible a station as Governor General Hastings, to have acted consistently with his own doctrine, he should have produced it to the House in the regular form, and left the House to proceed thereon ; instead of which, he admits the writings, and mere verbal opinions of men, known to be the declared enemies of Mr. Hastings. From these writings and speeches, (consisting entirely of mere matters of political party opinion,) he fancies that he discovers delinquency, adopts them for matters of fact, and growing violent in their support, deserts his own excellent theory, and proceeds to calling an absent gentleman a delinquent, instead of proving him to be such. "I would, Sir," says he, in another place, "recommend to your serious consideration, whether it be prudent to form a rule for punishing people, not on their own acts, but on your conjectures? Surely it is preposterous at the very best. It is not justifying your anger by their misconduct, but it is converting your ill will into their delinquency."

Yet

Yet Mr. Burke is punishing the Governor General on no other principle. On what act of delinquency in Mr. Hastings's conduct, does the orator rest his charge? Absolutely on none, but on his own *ill will* to that gentleman—How founded, I may shew by-and-by.

In another part of his speech, he declares it to be his principle, that, "If he cannot reform with equity, he will not reform at all."

Is it equitable, is it just, to take every opportunity to prejudice the House against an absent man, by dark insinuations, and violent exclamations, unsupported by fact or evidence of any kind, except such as he was himself ashamed to produce?

The first six reports have been laid before the public, in the formation of which, great pains were taken to fish out something criminal against the Governor General, but without effect. The industry of the Chairman, on which Mr. Burke complimented him, and the great ability of the penman, on which the Chairman returned the compliment, with the assistance of Governor Hastings's mortal and implacable enemy, Mr. Philip Francis, to direct the Committee what papers to call for from the India House, have produced nothing but partial extracts, and *ex parte* evidence; which the more they

they are canvassed, and the more they are read, the clearer and brighter the Governor General's character appears; and nothing remains, but the glaring inveteracy of his enemies.

Who would have imagined that a Committee, sitting for two years, with all the papers and clerks at the India House at their devotion, should not have been able to produce one single criminal charge against a man, who has served the State and East India Company, for thirty two years! A close investigation into the conduct of Governor General Hastings, was what his friends were desirous of, but had not the means to bring it about. Fortunately two or three men, who, for reasons best known to themselves, wished his destruction, had the direction of a Committee, where this very enquiry might be entered into; and to it they went, with passions so heated, and prejudices so strong, that being blinded themselves, they fancied every body else was so. Foiled at every point, they condescend to the vulgarity of calling names. Not in Stock's Market, not at Billingsgate, for the students at those famous academies, never do it but *viva voce*,—but in the British senate. If an absent man, in a high and important station, may, with impunity, be scurrilously abused, for the honour of the House, I think those who are capable of such unseemly behaviour, should now and then be called to order.

That

That Mr. Burke's knowledge of commerce is very superficial, I have asserted : if it was not so, we should have found some traces of his abilities, in the reports delivered to the world, avowedly of his composing. I own I am quite ashamed, at seeing so much time and paper wasted, to inform the public, how it happened that Mr. Macpherson became a Bengal Counsellor, or Mr. Benfield found his way back to Madras. I will give the House more information on both those important matters in a few lines, than are to be found in reports, which took six weeks to arrange and compose. The simple matter of fact is this,—Their friends were in power, and they were served.—Just as Mr. Burke himself, when in power, served his friend and cousin, Mr. William Burke, by having him created paymaster to the King's forces in India ; and obtaining by some means, not yet come to light, credentials for him to appear as Ambassador (from God knows who) at the court of the King of Tanjour. Messrs. Macpherson and Benfield, had served the Company for years, and had some kind of right to their appointments. Mr. William Burke was known neither to King nor Company, but was lifted into both appointments by the influence of Mr. Edmund Burke, at the very moment of time, that he was employed in drawing up reports criminating others, for the same conduct when in power.—Is this patriotism, or what is it?—To avoid a charge of national reflection, I forbear to call it Hibernian impudence.

The

The people without doors, are gaping for more reports. No doubt but they expect some account of the Committee's having gone into an investigation, of the means how to retrieve our mercantile losses in the west, by a proper application of the raw materials, which our settlements in the East Indies produce, and moving the House to repeal such acts, as may stand in the way of a free importation of them into this country. If such are their expectations, I will venture to say that they will be disappointed. Nothing has been further from the thoughts of the Committee. They have been governed in their researches, by the all-knowing Mr. Burke. That gentleman has, by some kind of witchcraft, imposed himself on the English nation, for a person conversant in general commerce—A greater imposition never took place. He knows no more of the fundamentals of commerce, than Lord Chesterfield did of astronomy: but being a man of many words, he will talk;—good Gods, how he will talk!—But that is all he can do; for a more superficial trifler in real substantials, I never knew. If every plan, and every scheme, that he has hitherto produced, will not prove what I say, why I refer to the expected reports from the Select Committee, where he governs every thing. It will be found that much time has been spent, in enquiring how the East India Company's servants at Bengal, go about to provide Dacca and Maulda muslins, and Luckeypore basseties. Much extract
from

from record, much parole evidence, and much comment from Mr. Burke, on both those subjects, will crowd the body of the report, and stuff the appendix.—But if real information is wanting, read the following.

Dacca and Maulda muslins, have always been imported by the East India Company fully manufactured, and of course, entered at the custom-house for exportation. The Luckeypore bassities, some years past, like the Madrafs long cloth, were further manufactured in England, that is they were dyed, at Bow, Stratford, and other places, and in that state were permitted to be retailed in the shops, under the denomination of printed calicoes. But if they underwent that operation abroad, they were then called chintz, and forbidden to be sold or worn in England. But the East India Company wishing to increase their imports from Bengal of every kind, as the returning ships from that part, brought to hand the balance of their Asiatic estate, and supported their expences, their dividends, and their credit of every kind, have, for some years past, ordered their servants abroad, to print the Luckeypore bassities at Bengal, that they may reap the full advantage of the remittance, by the goods being fully manufactured, and of course more valuable here. But then like the muslins, they are now entered for exportation, and are never out of the King's or Company's ex-
export

port warehouses. This being the fact, what benefit to the trade of this kingdom, can arise from a Committee of the House of Commons, spending their time in investigating such simple matters, as the the above articles of import, of merchandize fully manufactured? I will pledge my credit, that this paragraph will convey more real information on the subject (if such information be wanting) than the whole report of the Committee, come out when it may.

Coming so near an important article of manufacture, and not going into an investigation of it, could only happen from that ignorance, of which I so much complain in the self sufficient Mr. Burke. For at this moment of time, there are new manufactures set up in Somersetshire, both for mullin, similar to the Maulda, and callico, such as the baffties. To find the means how to bring these great undertakings to perfection, would be employment worthy a Committee of the House of Commons; and as they forgot it, I have supplied their deficiency, by introducing my plan for the importation of Surat cotton wool, with which the Somersetshire manufacture will rival the Bengal, and make importation unnecessary.

There are thousands of acres of land in Bengal, as well calculated for the cultivation of indigo, as
any

any in the world. Half the encouragement that has been given to the cultivation of that plant in America, and the West Indies, would induce a vast exportation of that article from Bengal, so much wanted in this country. But I have given instances enough to prove, that the managers of our Committees, would rather devote years to the gratification of private spleen against Governor Hastings, than a single hour to finding means of taking the shackles off the trade of their country, by discovering and introducing, new materials, to support our much shaken general commerce.

In the same speech from which I have drawn the above quotations, the orator, who conceives that every thing may be learnt from books, speaking of the now demised board of trade, says, "We want
 " no instruction from boards of trade, or from any
 " other board; and God forbid we should give the
 " least attention to their reports. Parliamentary en-
 " quiry is the only mode of obtaining parliamentary
 " information. There is more real knowledge to be
 " obtained by attending the detail of Business in
 " the Committees above stairs, than ever did
 " come, or ever will come, from any board in this
 " kingdom, or from all of them together." And
 he goes on to turn into ridicule, the then members
 of the board of trade; who certainly deserved some
 chastisement for their ignorance in matters, which
 they accepted of the public money to conduct; or
 for

for their cowardice, in not answering this man of words; for he describes the whole board, as having been members of Parliament. But there is some witchcraft in eloquence, which deprives common men of their understanding. I myself, have heard this meddling Jack of all trades, talk perfect nonsense, as it related to the real matter of fact under debate; but then he did it in such easy, harmonious, flowing language, as covered his own ignorance from the gaping crowd about him in such a manner, that had a man of ten times his real knowledge, attempted to answer him, he would have failed from want of practice in speaking in public, or from being deficient in that kind of *fron*, so necessary to popular orators. This the loquacious tribe so well understand, that one of these wordy *bullies*, whether at St. Stephen's Chapel or Coachmakers-Hall, will smother another man's good sense, by a rapid flow of unmeaning words, composing bold and daring, though ignorant assertions.

Will this gentleman go on to recommend the perusal of his reports, as productions in which any single article is to be found, worth the knowledge of the public, relative to our affairs in Asia? If he should, I believe no bookseller will go to the expence of publishing them.

One more quotation, and then to my last head. It has been taken from the same speech of the ora-

tor's

tor's, made in Parliament in the month of February, 1780.

" If ever there were commercial points of great weight, and most closely connected with our dependencies, they are those which have been agitated and decided in Parliament, *since I came into it.* Which of the innumerable regulations since made, had their origin, or their improvement, in the board of trade? Did any of the several East India bills, which have been successively produced since 1767, originate there?

God knows where they originated, but this I know, that every time Parliament have interposed in our East India affairs, since the period above mentioned, much confusion and disorder have in consequence ensued. At this moment, a parliamentary vote of recal hanging over the head of Governor General Hastings, his enemies abroad are making a vile use of it, in persuading the country powers to hold out a little longer, when his removal will procure them every thing they want, as his successors will have positive instructions to conclude a peace with them *on any terms.*

On the 13th of this month Mr. Burke declared in the House of Commons, that he had studied East India affairs for twenty years, but more particularly for the last three.—How has he studied

them?—Through the mist of party and prejudice; with a mind inflamed against one individual; to bring about the removal of whom, he leaves behind all decency. He publicly abuses, and privately traduces, the man, whom he is about to judge. His insinuations have been detected, and proved to be false; his arguments refuted, and his violence exposed. Still he goes on to abuse, and by dint of assurance, hopes to succeed. Such violent partizans are not true patriots. Brutus stabbed his friend over his shoulder—And Brutus was a patriot, and an honourable man. Mr. Burke vilifies the character of a man whom he never saw, and whom he would no more face manfully, than he would a royal tiger. His weapon is the weapon of a splenetic, vindictive woman. This Cato of Bristol, would follow the chariot wheels of power, and pick up any fragments of the spoil, but never find a Utica. One patron, whom it has been the business of his life to flatter, no sooner disappears, than with unwiped mouth, he applies his lips to the posteriors of another. Lord Rockingham hath given; Lord North may give. When the boasted labours of this *disinterested* gentleman in the Committee, comes to be examined, nothing possibly will appear more futile and ridiculous. But he will cram them down the throat of Parliament.

Mr. Burke talks of manufacturing commercial bills, to regulate our Asiatic affairs, in the House

of Commons, with as much confidence, as he would of fabricating speeches, or party pamphlets. I have heard that he has now on the anvil, a bill to new form and regulate our East India commerce. Poor Old England ! Stripped of thy possessions in the western world, by the wretched botch work of one set of state taylors, another is about to try experiments on thy possessions in the east. Some say that thy sun of glory is for ever set in the west ; and I say that our sun in the east will never get up again, if such pretenders to mercantile knowledge, as I have proved Mr. Burke to be, comes to form Bills for the direction of our Asiatic commercial affairs.

Whatever may be learned from books, Mr. Burke is a tolerable master of ; of practical knowledge, he has not a grain. But so full is he of himself, and of his own ideal plans, that was he to consult with every truly commercial man in this kingdom, he would draw no benefit from it : because having formed his notions of every circumstance, which can occur in mercantile polity, from reading, he puts questions, not with the view to obtain information, but to confirm his own ideas. If the answers do not suit him, or his plans, he twists and turns his queries until they do. I have been examined by him, know his manner of proceeding, and positively declare, that all simple, plain answers, which lead to real information, are of no use to him, except they tend to con-

firm what, in his own mind, he has already determined shall be the law. The honourable gentleman is in love with his own ideas, and like all other lovers, he asks advice, not that he intends to follow it, but in the hope of meeting others of the same way of thinking.

My last charge against this famous orator is, that there is extreme malice in his disposition. Governor Hastings supported Mahomed Ally Cawn, the Nabob of the Carnatic, in his pretensions to the sovereignty of the kingdom of Tanjour. It happened that Mr. Burke's cousin was employed by some of the Rockingham party, as agent to Lord Pigot, who supported the Rajah against the Nabob. But his Lordship having died before the agent, Mr. William Burke, arrived, he found his way to Tanjour, and persuaded the Rajah, or King, that he was the commissioner of a strong and powerful party in England, who supported Lord Pigot's, and of course the Rajah's interests. Great trafficking ensued between the Rajah and the agent, who, after having made a voyage to England for new powers, has lately been appointed ambassador to the Rajah, into whose capital he last year made his public entry; and to shew to the Rajah that the people who sent him, had influence in our court, his cousin, when in power, procured for him the appointment to the paymaster'ship of the King's forces in India; a newly created office; and

that

that at the moment when he was teizing the House with his plans of economy.—The orator may sneer at, but he dare not deny these facts.

It is to this political manœuvre that we must turn, to find the cause of the orator's rancour to the Governor General of Bengal. The Chairman's violence in the same cause, has long since been noted in Leadenhall-street, until at length he got himself dispised by the other Proprietors. His friend the penman's asperity, has had an effect almost similar in St. Stephen's Chapel. Moderate men turn with disgust, from his threadbare abuse of an absent man; and honest ones from his extraordinary conduct, in whispering about that the Governor General has received one hundred thousand pounds for his own use. General Clavering, Col. Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis, gave it under their hands, to the Company and to the Ministry in 1775, that Governor General Hastings had, in the course of two years and a half, accumulated half a million sterling. Mr. Philip Francis, the only survivor, has been told that such their assertion, was neither more nor less than an infamous falsehood; and that worthy man shrinks from the charge, and creeps about from hole to corner, like a foreigner amongst his own countrymen. The great orator, has patronized and given him countenance, for the information which he brought; though it was such as no honest man would have given, or good man have received.

Mr.

Mr. Burke proposes to stake his character against that of Governor General Hastings; but nobody can tell why or wherefore. For my part, I cannot understand how two such discordant spirits can be opposed to each other; or in what point of view, their several qualities will bear a comparison. Mr. Hastings was born in England, Mr. Burke in Ireland. Whilst the former was studying at Westminster, the latter was doing the same at St. Omer's. When the orator was laying in materials for writing his treatise on the sublime and beautiful, the Governor was studying the rudiments of the Persian, Moorish, and other languages or dialects of Hindoostan. Whilst the orator was employed by booksellers, to write Annual Registers, and remarks on other periodical publications, Mr. Hastings had charge of the national affairs at the court of Cossim Ally Cawn, Nabob of Bengal. Whilst the orator was writing inflammatory pamphlets, to support the interests of the party to which he had attached himself, Lord Clive was recommending to the East India Company's notice, the rising abilities, and extensive capacity, of Mr. Hastings. Whilst Lord Rockingham was securing the oratorial abilities of our unprovided for adventurer, by procuring him a seat in Parliament, and giving promises of future reward, the East India Company rewarded the long services of Mr. Hastings, by appointing him Deputy Governor of Madras.

Hitherto

Hitherto Plutarch himself, were he alive, would not be able to contrast a single action, or feature, of the orator, with a similar one of the Governor. The former entered into Parliament, and undertook the service of a party, under promise of future reward. The Governor was appointed to an honourable station, as a reward for former services, whilst the new member pursued his old occupation of writing pamphlets, and making speeches, in support of a party. Mr. Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal, on account of his uncommon integrity, and disinterestedness. Whilst the whole time of the orator was engaged in finding matter to distress administration, and support rebellion, the Governor General devoted every moment of his life, to the duty of supporting and defending our territories in the east. Whilst Mr. Burke, in his place in the House of Commons, boasted of his correspondence with Doctor Franklin, at that time a declared rebel to his country, and a public resident at the French capital, and in a time of war with that nation, Governor Hastings advised the Ministry and the East India Company, that he had not left a Frenchman on the continent of India. At the time when the Governor General received advice that the legislative powers of his country, and his masters the East India Company, had appointed him *for the third time* Governor of Bengal, Mr. Burke was refused, by his constituents at Bristol, any further confidence, as their representative in Parliament,

ment When, by a change of hands in the ministerial department, the thousand times self praised, disinterested Mr. Burke, got into power; offices and emoluments, to the tune of ten thousand pounds per annum, were secured to himself, his brother, son and cousin; whilst the Governor General was pledging his own private credit, to support the national and Company's interests in Asia.

When a peace was forced, the empire dismantled, and the nation left without government, the factious and turbulent spirit of Mr. Burke was employed to snatch up spoil from the ruins. The Governor General of Bengal stood firm in his post, like Atlas, supporting the eastern wing of this once mighty empire, become of more importance from the balance having been destroyed by the loss of the western wing:

Whilst the orator foams at mouth like a lunatic, and keeps running about, endeavouring to destroy the Governor's character in the opinion of his fellow subjects, Mr. Hastings, unconscious of the matter, from never having given the least cause of offence, goes on to perform his duty to his country.

What now can Mr. Burke mean by saying, that he will stake his character against that of Governor Hastings?

Hastings? What has Mr. Hastings to do with him, or he with Mr. Hastings? Does he hope to abuse him into a coalition, and so ruin him in the opinion of the world? Successful as he has proved with others, in that department of patriotic duty, I wish him not to flatter himself with any such hope.

When ever, or however, Governor Gen. Hastings may be removed from his government, he will retire as other great and good men have done, to some private retreat, and quietly enjoy the heart felt pleasure, arising from a consciousness of having done his duty to his country, to the best of his judgement, and without spleen to mankind, (never having been the aggressor in any one of the many furious disputes, which embittered his active scene of life, and impeded the administration of his government) slide down the vale of years calm, cheerful, and serene, conscious of never having been guilty of one action, in his public or private capacity, the publication or recollection of which, will sully his honour, or disturb his repose.

Provoked, as he has been, in a thousand instances, he never stooped to traduce or revile, the public or private character of friend or enemy, absent or present. Laboured and elegant, as the character Mr. Burke may give or leave to the world, of his great friend the Marquis of Rockingham, what more can he say in his praise? and as I know the Governor as well as he did the Lord, my unadorned,

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adorned, artless account, will meet with equal credit with all dispassionate men.

I have one request to make to the patriotic orator, which is, that he will never affect to change his opinion of Governor General Hastings. If twelve years of violent and, in some instances, scurrilous abuse of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, meant no more than a desire to be taken into keeping by the noble Lord, I have a right to conclude, that certain overtures from the Governor, or his friends, would effectually stop the orator's mouth. To affront a man to his face, is a common injury, which an instant chastisement may remove; but to abuse me behind my back, and that in a place where privilege is as sacred as in the House of God, is an insult at once both base and contemptible.

True virtue is most amiable, and real patriotism her first born and beloved offspring. The features by which she is best known, are love of country, honour, honesty, charity, steadiness, mildness of disposition, pure disinterestedness, and an absence of all the mean and unruly passions. Whether the Member of Parliament for Malton, or the Governor General of Bengal, answer best the above description of a real patriot, I sha'll leave to the decision of those who have a right to judge between them.

The

The right honourable orator has recently expressed his surprise, at the presumption of the Proprietors of East India Stock, for voting the continuation of Governor General Hastings in his station at Bengal, after a vote of the House of Commons had passed for his removal, procured when only forty-two members were present. Men who deny a right in the crown to the nomination of its own servants, may justify such doctrine; but who shall tell us where the line will be drawn, or at what point the patriots will stop? If the crown and East India Company have no such right, or hold it by so precarious a tenure as a vote of the House of Commons, how can inferior bodies, or individuals, be secure in their agents or servants? I have but one servant, and yet if a vote of the whole House of Commons, or of the House of Lords, was to order his dismissal, upon my soul I would pay no more regard to it, than if all the inhabitants of Bedlam were to send me such an order. I know but one power competent to the giving such orders, and that is a joint Act of the Three Estates; to that every man must submit. Jointly, they constitute a legislative power, whose acts are the laws of the land. Those every good man must and will obey; and the same man will for ever resist partial, passionate votes, which, from their nature, bear marks of tyranny on their surface.

Why

Why is the honourable gentleman displeased with the East India Company? Because they will not join the vote of the House of Commons, and address the King for the removal of an old and faithful servant. This manly defence of their legal rights, in opposition to passion and prejudice, the honourable gentleman conceives merits disfranchisement; that is, he had rather see the Company, and our trade to Asia, annihilated, than not indulge the gratification of his private spleen. But he draws over it the old and detestable cloak of pretended patriotism, and his concern for the public good. Thou old, infatuated, bullet-headed fellow, John Bull, how long wilt thou continue to be gulled by such pretenders to virtue? Once more attend to the language of this virtuous man, and remark that the following paragraph was addressed by him to the very men, whose good qualities he has lately discovered, after near twenty years of scurrility and abuse—Because there was no safe way to office and emolument, but by a recantation of all his former sentiments and principles—“A corps
“feels mighty cold abed.”—The Marquis is dead; but the Lord liveth!!!

When Mr. Burke wrote “Observations on a late State of the Nation,” his sentiments of right and wrong, as they relate to the East India Company, were as follows.

“The

“ The fact is this ; the East India Company had
 “ for a good while, solicited the Ministry for a ne-
 “ gotiation, by which they proposed to pay large-
 “ ly for some advantages in their trade, and for the
 “ renewal of their charter. This had been the for-
 “ mer method of transacting with that body. Go-
 “ vernment having only leased the monopoly for
 “ short terms, the Company has been obliged to
 “ resort to it frequently for renewals. These two
 “ parties had always negotiated (on the true princi-
 “ ples of credit) not as government and subject, but
 “ as equal dealers, on the footing of mutual advan-
 “ tage. The public had derived great benefit from
 “ such dealing : But at that time new ideas pre-
 “ vailed. The Ministry, instead of listening to the
 “ proposals of that Company, chose to set up a
 “ claim of the Crown to their possessions. The ori-
 “ ginal plan seems to have been to get the House
 “ of Commons to compliment the Crown with a
 “ sort of juridical declaration of a title to the Com-
 “ pany’s acquisitions in India, which the Crown,
 “ on its part, with the best air in the world, was
 “ to bestow upon the public : Then it would come
 “ to the turn of the House of Commons again to
 “ be liberal and grateful to the Crown : The civil
 “ list debts were to be paid off, with, perhaps, a
 “ pretty augmentation of income. All this was to
 “ be done on the most public spirited principles,
 “ and with a politeness, and mutual interchange of
 “ good offices, that could not but have charmed.

“ But

“ But what was best of all, these civilities were to
 “ be without a farthing of charge to either of the
 “ kind and obliging parties—*The East India Com-*
 “ *pany was to be covered with infamy and disgrace,*
 “ *and at the same time was to pay the whole bill.*

“ In consequence of this scheme, the terrors of a
 “ Parliamentary enquiry were hung over them. A
 “ judicature was asserted in Parliament to try this
 “ question. But lest this judicial character should
 “ chance to inspire certain stubborn ideas of law
 “ and right, it was argued, that the judicature was
 “ arbitrary, and ought not to determine by the rules
 “ of law, but by their opinion of policy and expe-
 “ diency. Nothing exceeded the violence of some
 “ of the managers, except their impotence. They
 “ were bewildered by their passions, and by their
 “ want of knowledge, or want of consideration, of
 “ the subject. The more they advanced, the further
 “ they found themselves from their object. All
 “ things ran into confusion. The Ministers quar-
 “ relled among themselves. They disclaimed one
 “ another. They suspended violence, and shrunk
 “ from the treaty. The enquiry was almost at its
 “ last gasp, when some active persons of the Com-
 “ pany were given to understand, that this hostile
 “ proceeding was only set up *in terrorem*; that go-
 “ vernment was far from an intention of seizing
 “ upon the possessions of the Company. Adminis-
 “ tration, they said, was sensible, that the idea was
 in

“ in every light full of absurdity ; and that such a
 “ seizure was not more out of their power, than
 “ remote from their wishes ; and therefore, if the
 “ Company would come in a liberal manner to the
 “ House, they certainly could not fail of putting a
 “ speedy end to this disagreeable business, and of
 “ opening the way to an advantageous treaty.”

What an honest description has the honourable gentleman given of the conduct of parties in Parliament in the above paragraph, and how happy are we who are governed by them ! He and his friends have changed the battery, and instead of covering the East India Company with infamy, they attempt to cover the Governor General with it. The reason is clear ; the Company itself has been so fleeced, that they are declared to be nearly in a state of bankruptcy, and no more can be squeezed out of them ; but there are yet some good offices in their service, and many of the orator's friends are to reform, regulation, and amendment, in every department of the state, are useful words, and Mr. Burke knows as well as any man, how to ring the changes on them. A patriot may say, and unsay, what he pleases, and when, and how, and where he pleases. Musical words have charms to lull old John Bull to sleep. Paddy can tickle him as easily as he can a trout. The state parties have long since played the old game for the odd trick. At nine all honour goes for nothing. A new bill
 is

is a new pack, and each gambler shuffles and cuts to his own game. What has honour to do with a man, who must become a minister or starve? If one party win the game, one set of men will be found to be the most capable to restore our affairs in Asia: if the other party win, why then another set of men will become the most capable. Both sides hold up poor Sir Thomas as a scare crow. Look here, says the Lord Advocate to the House, we have him. Aye look, rejoins Mr. Burke, do you not smell him? Why, my worthy friends, adds he, Nabobs are all alike; and you must submit to an *ex post facto* law in order to condemn him, or he will escape. Nay you must believe me when I say, that the present Governor General of Bengal, is a delinquent, and that against evidence, common sense, and common justice: if not, why you will drive us to the necessity of bringing in a bill to disfranchise the East India Company, or we shall never be able to get away that great culprit, Mr. Hastings, who now stands appointed by Act of Parliament Governor General of Bengal for nine years to come, in which time numbers of our friends would be able to make ample fortunes in Asiatic offices.

I hope that I have convinced some of my readers, that the great orator's talents lie more in the art of varnishing well his tale, and directing his eloquence to the present feelings of the House, than in any principle of action, established, or pursued,
by

by himself, in any former period of his life. I could wish them to attend to his conduct and behaviour, to the end of the present Asiatic farce. Measures which require *ex post facto* laws, causes which cannot be supported but by *ex parte* evidence, and arguments which require scurrilous abuse to enforce them, give noble opportunities to orators by trade, to shew their parts. The catastrophe of the present comedy, will turn out to be, that the noble General must be crammed down the throats of the East India Company, for a Governor to one of their settlements, or at least a Commander for one of their armies. They have already had ample specimens of his abilities, and ought not to doubt his improvement under such a tutor. But the orator should recollect, when he declares, that he can put his finger no where on a Nabob, but it touches some fore place, that his General, was one of the first who was corrupted by his rapacity abroad, and his ostentatious vanity and extravagance at home made the appellation a term of reproach throughout the land—But perhaps Nabob and General are synonymous terms.

Almost tired of a stage, where the patched and pie-bald Jack Pudding is sold at guinea doses for a single fixpence, to the gaping, credulous, and ever-to-be cheated million, I leave the General, and his friend the orator, as I have often done the predatory Doctor, and his convenient Jack, with



(145)

with a mixture of risibility at their impertinence,
and contempt for their duplicity: And remain

Their humble Servant,

And old Correspondent,

The A U T H O R

London, March

the 22d, 1783.

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